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HISTORY

OF

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS

IN

ASIA AFRICA, EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA,

UNDER THE CARE OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION,

BY

WILLIAM GAMMELL, A.M.

PROFESSOR IN BROWN UNIVERSITY.

WITH MAPS AND AN APPENDIX.

SEVENTH THOUSAND.

5⁺
BOSTON:
GOULD AND LINCOLN.
NEW YORK:
SHELDON, LAMPORT, AND BLAKEMAN.
1854.

others still, abound in encouragement, giving us to see unequivocal tokens of success,—the foundations of idolatry and superstition shaken; the Holy Scriptures translated; the press sending forth messages of divine truth; children gathered into schools, and brought under evangelical influence; the gospel proclaimed by missionaries and native preachers; converts multiplied; the ordinances of Christ administered; churches constituted, exemplifying in the lives of their members the power and loveliness of primitive Christianity, and sending up to heaven, from overflowing hearts, the voice of prayer and hymns of praise;—all urging us onward in the missionary enterprise, and all fitted to excite our gratitude to God, in view of the signal blessing which He has already bestowed on our feeble endeavors.

SPENCER H. CONE,
DANIEL SHARP,
IRA H. CHASE.

BOSTON, MAY 1, 1849.

CERTIFICATE.

THE UNDERSIGNED, having been requested by the Executive Committee of the Missionary Union to read, in manuscript, Professor Gammell's HISTORY OF AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS, are happy in being able to state that, in our opinion, the work is well adapted to accomplish the important purposes for which it was written.

Such a history we think to be much needed, and worthy of being read by all. It exhibits gratifying evidence of research, fidelity and skill. It sets before the reader, in a lucid manner, facts that should never be forgotten. Some of them, in power to awaken attention and touch the heart, could scarcely be surpassed by fiction. Others are full of instruction, presenting the rich fruits of varied experience; or coming, in impressive tones of Christian love and admonition, from the graves of those who, in making known the way of salvation, have cheerfully laid down their lives in distant lands. And

others still, abound in encouragement, giving us to see unequivocal tokens of success,—the foundations of idolatry and superstition shaken; the Holy Scriptures translated; the press sending forth messages of divine truth; children gathered into schools, and brought under evangelical influence; the gospel proclaimed by missionaries and native preachers; converts multiplied; the ordinances of Christ administered; churches constituted, exemplifying in the lives of their members the power and loveliness of primitive Christianity, and sending up to heaven, from overflowing hearts, the voice of prayer and hymns of praise;—all urging us onward in the missionary enterprise, and all fitted to excite our gratitude to God, in view of the signal blessing which He has already bestowed on our feeble endeavors.

SPENCER H. CONE,
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BOSTON, MAY 1, 1849.

PREFACE.

THE following work was undertaken at the request of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and is designed to narrate the origin and progress of the several missions which have been commenced and sustained by the agency of that association. It is intended to be a history of the missions rather than of the society by which they are conducted,—of the colonies which have been planted on distant shores, rather than of the government by whose agency they were commenced, and by whose patronage they are sustained. On this account it records only such domestic changes and events in our missionary organization as have shaped the character or affected the progress of the enterprise for which that organization was called into being.

The subject relates to many different countries and races of mankind, and comprises the personal adventures and philanthropic labors of a large number of individuals, who, in the spirit of their Master and in obedience to His great command, have toiled for the extension of Christian truth among their fellow-men. From a range of topics so wide and varied, the author has aimed to select the incidents and scenes which may fairly represent the growth of each separate mission, and to form from them a series of narratives fitted to interest the general reader. In the execution of the design, the most difficult task has been to blend particular facts with general views, and from the scattered labors of many individuals to trace the gradual advancement of the enterprise in which they are engaged. In doing this he has of necessity omitted many details of themselves interesting and important, but less immediately connected with the

general object of the narrative, and has often grouped together in a single paragraph toils and adventures, each of which might furnish material for an entire chapter.

The principal sources from which the materials for the work have been derived are the journals of the missionaries, and the published reports and documents of the Executive Managers, which are contained in the volumes of the *Missionary Magazine*. In addition to these, the author has had free access to the records and papers in the Missionary Rooms at Boston; he has read the memoirs of departed missionaries, and consulted many works relating to the benefits resulting from the missions and to the history and condition of the countries in which they are planted. He has also woven into the narrative brief notices of such public events as have affected their progress and success. Great pains have been taken to render the statements and views as accurate as possible, and to furnish for those who may be interested in its perusal a clear and impartial account of the origin and progress of a single branch of the noble enterprise in which the churches of our own and of nearly every other Christian communion are now earnestly engaged.

In his endeavors to secure accuracy of dates and facts, the author acknowledges the valuable aid he has received from the Corresponding Secretaries of the Board, and from the gentlemen appointed to examine the manuscript; from all of whom he has experienced the kindest courtesy and attention in conducting every part of the work. The maps, though small, will be found valuable aids to the text, and the statistical tables contained in the Appendix serve to render the volume a fuller exponent of the present condition of the Missionary Union. It is now submitted to the public in the humble hope that it may be deemed worthy of a place in the already extensive literature of Christian missions, and that it may be made instrumental in promoting a cause which is identified with all the highest interests of the human race.

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AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS.

MISSIONS IN BURMAH.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN of the Missionary Spirit in America.—The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society.—The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.—The earliest American Missionaries.—Change of Sentiments of Messrs. Judson and Rice.

THE beginning of the present century was marked by the operation of two opposite agencies, which were at that time at work and struggling for the ascendancy in the bosom of American society. The one was the infidel philosophy which was borne to our shores along with the frenzied enthusiasm for liberty that had then just burst forth in the Revolution of France;—the other was the spirit of Christian philanthropy, breathed from the gospel of Christ, and then just waking to a new and more vigorous existence among the people of this young and prosperous republic. After the lapse of nearly half a century, we may now look calmly back and observe the different characters which they manifested, and the different destinies which they have reached. The former, though presumptuous and boastful, and at that time ranking among its disciples many a popular name, has produced no results that the world values or will ever value, and is fast passing away from the thoughts and the memories of men. The latter, though modest and unpretending, and scarcely daring to raise her voice even in the Christian church, has moulded the character of the age, and, by giving birth to the enterprise of American Missions, has con-

ferred inestimable blessings upon mankind, and introduced a new era in the history of Christianity.

At early periods in our colonial history, the condition of the Aborigines of the continent had excited a wide-spread interest among Christian people both in England and the colonies; and societies had been formed for their benefit, and at different times had employed the labors of many whose names are enrolled among the brightest ornaments of their age. It was in this hitherto neglected field of Christian philanthropy that John Eliot and the Mayhews, Roger Williams and William Penn, David Brainerd and Bishop Berkely, performed many of those pious labors which have secured for them an undying remembrance. As yet, however, the sphere of Christian obligation was confined within narrow limits; and the idea of sending missionaries to other lands, who should preach the gospel alike to the dwellers in the vales and on the mountains, had scarcely begun to dawn upon the churches of America.

It was not till the beginning of the present century, that this obligation began to be distinctly recognized among any of the Christian denominations of the country. The Baptist churches, at this period, were comparatively few in number, and, save in the leading cities, they seldom comprised members of the wealthier classes of society. They had struggled into existence amid many difficulties, and, though scattered over a wide extent of territory and numbering many communicants, they were yet but poorly supplied with ministers or even with suitable places of public worship. In these circumstances their attention was seldom diverted from their own wants as a denomination, and their sympathy had scarcely at all been enlisted in behalf of heathen nations. Whatever Christian effort they could put forth, was naturally directed to the supply of their own scattered and destitute brethren, or, at the farthest, to sending occasional preachers to the Indian tribes that then skirted the frontiers of most even of our oldest States.

The first indication of the growth of a wider philanthropy is found in the formation of the Massachusetts Baptist Mis-

sionary Society, which was organized in 1802. Its object, as set forth in its constitution, was, "to furnish occasional preaching and to promote the knowledge of evangelical truth in the new settlements within these United States, or further if circumstances should render it proper." The missionary preachers who went forth under the auspices of this society, among the distant frontier settlements, contributed not a little by the reports and statements which they circulated through the churches, to the awakening of a still livelier interest in the spread of the gospel. At the same time also the letters of Carey, Marshman, Ward, and their heroic coadjutors in the English Baptist Mission at Serampore, began to be widely read in this country. The facts which they contained respecting the hitherto unimagined crimes and miseries of heathenism, and the warm and eloquent appeals of the missionaries, were communicated to the denomination in the *Massachusetts Baptist Magazine*, and were read with eager interest in every part of the land. Numerous associations called mite societies were formed in nearly all the principal churches, and their contributions were devoted to missions. At nearly the same time Buchanan's sermon, entitled "the Star in the East," was republished in America. Its thrilling narratives and stirring appeals were read alike by ministers, and by laymen — by the merchant in the midst of his worldly gains, and by the cloistered student beside his solitary lamp; and they every where gave a new impulse to the spirit of missionary inquiry. The growing sympathies of the Baptists of America were mainly centred in the missions at Serampore, which had been planted by their brethren in England, and were now, by their extraordinary success, attracting the attention of the whole Christian world. They early began to contribute small sums for their support, and the grateful acknowledgments which they received from Dr. Carey and his associates, served to inflame their zeal and increase their liberality. At a meeting of the Boston Association of Baptist Ministers, held in November, 1811, a vote was unanimously passed, "recommending it to the members of their

body, to make known to their respective congregations, in whatever mode they should think proper, the subject of *Eastern Translations*, and to express their readiness to receive, and transmit to the authorized persons whatever contributions any of their people should be disposed to make." So great had now become the interest which was felt in the undertaking of the Serampore missionaries to translate the Scriptures, that in the year 1812 the sum of four thousand six hundred and fifty dollars was contributed to the aid of that object by persons of different denominations in the towns of Boston and Salem alone.

These signs of awakening interest in the conversion of the heathen to Christianity, though by no means universal in our churches, were yet appearing in nearly every part of the country, and gave unequivocal token that a new era was about to dawn in the history of Christian philanthropy, as well among the Baptists as among their brethren of other communions. It was plain that a spirit was at work, and that principles were beginning to be cherished, which, of themselves, must soon lead to systematic and organized efforts for the diffusion of the gospel among men. As yet, however, there were wanting among us any leading minds who should propose the undertaking of an American mission, and enlist the energies of the churches in its accomplishment.

In the year 1810 a new impulse was given to the missionary spirit in every denomination of Christians in America, by the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This institution, whose name has now become associated with many of the noblest triumphs of Christian missions in every part of the world, sprang from the pious zeal of several young men, at that time students of theology at the Andover Seminary, who had submitted their views to a meeting of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts, and declared their determination to devote themselves to preaching the gospel among the heathen. It was no sudden, transitory impulse, that had been kindled by the contagious enthusiasm of youthful inexperience. With most of them, the sentiment had been

cherished for years. It had been nurtured amid the retirement of their early studies, and had borrowed strength from all that they had learned of the history of man or the revelations of God. It had blended with all their manly purposes until it had become a settled resolve, and embodied itself in vows and mutual pledges, such as have always given birth to the greatest enterprises which history has recorded.

One of these young men was Adoniram Judson,* an ardent and aspiring scholar, who, though but lately reclaimed from the mazes of infidelity, had now embraced the gospel with a fervor made more glowing by its contrast with the gloomy skepticism in which he had been involved. He had already corresponded with the friends of missions in England, and was the author of the communication which, together with his associates, he now addressed to the ministers of the Massachusetts Association. Immediately on the organization of the Board, he was sent by the Commissioners to England, in order to ascertain what assistance would be furnished by the London Missionary Society, in case, as was anticipated, the Congregational churches in America should fail to sustain the newly-conceived enterprise. His passage across the Atlantic was interrupted by the capture of the vessel in which he had embarked, by a French privateer. He was made a prisoner of war and carried into Bayonne, where he was detained for a time; but when released, he proceeded on his passage to England under the protection of passports obtained from the Emperor of the French. Here he was received with the warmest Christian cordiality by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, who heartily re-

* The names of the others were Samuel Nott, Samuel J. Mills, Samuel Newell, James Richards and Luther Rice. The two latter names were at first signed to the paper which was presented to the ministers, but were afterwards withdrawn lest the number should seem too large. The quiet communing of these young students amid the shades of Andover, when considered in connection with all its great and benignant results, might well be compared with the scene in the chapel at Mont-martre, nearly three centuries before, when the seven founders of the "Society of Jesus" met to exchange their vows of perpetual fealty to the Romish Church.

sponded to the views and aspirations which had kindled his own mind and those of his associates. The Directors, however, wisely declined to enter into any union with the Commissioners in America. They feared the evils which would be likely to ensue from a divided jurisdiction placed on both sides of the Atlantic, and they justly estimated that the churches in America were already able to sustain the young missionaries who had so generously thrown themselves upon their liberality. They nevertheless professed their entire willingness to accept these missionaries into their service until funds adequate to their support could be raised by the Commissioners in America.

Early in the year 1812, the first American missionaries sailed in two separate companies for the distant scene of their yet untried labors. Messrs. Judson and Newell, with their wives, sailed from Salem in the ship *Caravan* on the 19th of February; and Messrs. Hall and Nott, with their wives, and Mr. Rice, sailed from Philadelphia in the *Harmony* on the 24th of the same month. Both these vessels, thus freighted with the heralds of Christianity to the heathen, were bound to Calcutta; and from thence the missionaries were instructed to proceed to the Burman Empire, or, if this should be impracticable, to some other unoccupied field in India in which they might find themselves able to establish a mission.

It was during his long passage across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and while engaged in the critical study and the translation of the Scriptures, that the views of Mr. Judson, on the question of baptism, underwent the change which has had so important a bearing on the course of his subsequent life and on the history of American Missions. While thus removed from the controversies of men, amid the trackless solitudes of the ocean, and specially occupied in the earnest study of the Word of God, he adopted the belief that none but professed believers in Jesus Christ are intended to be subjects of baptism, and that immersion alone is the primitive mode in which the rite was administered. To the same conclusion Mrs. Judson was at length slowly conducted, and a few months later Mr. Rice pro-

fessed his faith in the same general views. They were subsequently baptized, though at different times, in the chapel at Serampore, by Rev. Mr. Ward, of the English Baptist Mission.

As a feature in the character of these independent young missionaries, this adoption of new views respecting the ordinance of baptism was in every way singular and remarkable. It was a step directly against all the prejudices of their education and their early associations, and contrary to all their present interests and engagements. It must inevitably separate them from the sympathies of friends to whom they had always been attached, and from the respected and honored Board by whose appointment they had gone to a distant continent as missionaries to the heathen, and on whose funds they were now depending for their support. On the other hand, the change would connect them with a denomination to whose members they were strangers, who had as yet manifested but little active interest in missions, and who, more than all, were without any missionary organization on which they could rely for guidance and support. No persuasive invitation was addressed to them, no prospect of advancement was placed before them. Never were inquirers after truth more entirely removed from the influence of any external bias. In circumstances like these we are compelled to believe that they abandoned their former opinions and adopted new, in accordance with the simple dictates of their own unbiassed understanding and conscience; and that, in the words of one of their number, "if there was ever an action performed from one single motive, unblended with any minor considerations, their baptism was an action of this description."

CHAPTER II.

Messrs. Judson and Rice at Serampore. — The Difficulties they Encounter. — Mr. and Mrs. Judson settle at Rangoon. — Mr. Rice returns to America. — Interest awakened in the Churches here. — Formation of a Society for Propagating the Gospel in India. — A Meeting of Delegates proposed.

THE establishment of Mr. and Mrs. Judson in Burmah and the enlistment of the American Baptists in the support of their mission, it has been often observed, were brought about by a train of events of the most remarkable and providential character. No human wisdom or foresight selected the field in which were to be put forth their earliest labors, and no spontaneous charity furnished the means which were to constitute their support. The honor of commencing the missions of the American Baptists, let it be confessed, is to be ascribed rather to the divine Head of the Church, than to any leading movement or agency of the denomination itself. The way was prepared and the field was opened by God alone, and it only remained for true-hearted men to enter in and prosecute the noble work to which they had thus been summoned.

The little band of American missionaries had arrived on the shores of India; but here they were destined to meet with privations and discouragements such as might well have appalled any but the most resolute faith, in that early infancy of the missionary enterprise. The country to which they had come was under the government of the British East India Company, whose Directors and Agents were at that time unfriendly to the introduction of Christianity among the nations of the East, and who, at all events, were determined not to endure within their jurisdiction the presence of missionaries from America. Mr. and Mrs. Judson and Mr. Rice were at Serampore, where they were enjoying the hospitality of Dr. Carey and his associates of the English Baptist Mission. While here, they suddenly received an order from the government requiring them immediately to repair to Calcutta. On presenting themselves at the Govern

ment House, they were told that they must return without delay to the United States, and that the captain of the ship which had brought them to Calcutta should not receive a clearance from the port unless he would engage to take them back. The order also included all the missionaries who had accompanied them from America. Their friends at Calcutta informed them that there was no hope of the decree being reversed, and their only alternative was either to obey the order and return to the United States, or to obtain permission to embark for some part of India beyond the jurisdiction of the East India Company. Their first wish was to proceed, according to the original instructions they had received from the Commissioners, to some part of the Burman empire; but the disturbed relations then subsisting between that empire and the English seemed to render such a movement impossible. They accordingly obtained permission to embark in a vessel lying in the river, bound to the Isle of France, in the hope that there they might plant a mission, and labor for the object which had brought them from America. The vessel, however, possessed accommodations for but two passengers, and those were assigned, by common consent, to Mr. and Mrs. Newell, whose circumstances required that they should speedily be settled in a place of quiet and repose. The others remained in Calcutta, waiting the departure of another vessel, and anxiously watching the course of events, in order to determine what steps their duty might require them to take for the accomplishment of their mission. At the end of three months the officers of the government, who had watched them with constant jealousy, and who doubtless supposed that they intended to remain in the country, issued another order, more peremptory than the former, requiring them immediately to take passage in one of the Company's ships which was bound to England, and caused their names to be printed in the official list of passengers about to sail.

At this crisis, when their last hopes seemed to be cut off, and all their plans were about to be frustrated by the stern decree of arbitrary power, Mr. Judson and Mr. Rice learned that a

ship was about to sail for the Isle of France. They immediately applied to the government for a passport, but were refused. The crisis, however, was too important, and escape from the Company's hostile jurisdiction was too desirable, not to call forth their utmost exertions to secure their passage to some other part of India. The captain was induced to consent to their embarking in his ship without the usual papers from the government. Accordingly, their baggage having been conveyed on board, they embarked under cover of night, and the ship proceeded on her voyage down the river. At the end of two days they were overtaken by a government despatch, which commanded the pilot to conduct the ship no farther, as she had on board passengers who were ordered to England. They now found all their designs completely foiled by the officers of the Company. With heavy hearts they went on shore, where they procured temporary lodgings near the bank of the river, and the ship proceeded on her voyage to the sea. In this desolate condition they remained four days, using every inducement they could offer to the vessels that passed, to take them on board, but without success. At the end of this time a letter was brought to Mr. Judson, from some unknown friend, enclosing a certificate of permission to go on board the ship which they had so lately been compelled to leave, and which, if she had not already gone to sea, was now lying at Saugur roads, a distance of seventy miles. They immediately embarked in boats, and after rowing a night and a day they reached the ship, and proceeded on their voyage to the Isle of France.

It had been their design in going to the Isle of France to establish a mission on the adjacent island of Madagascar, but they now found this to be impossible, and they directed their attention to several other countries of the East, though without deciding which one should become the scene of their missionary labors. Yet, even here, they did not escape the hostile influence of the Directors of the East India Company. The governor of the island was warned of their presence, and directed "to have an eye on those American missionaries." Their residence was,

however, made as pleasant to them as circumstances would permit, and the governor, it would appear, had little sympathy with the spirit which at that time ruled at the council board of the Honorable Company; for he informed the missionaries that they were at liberty to go wherever they wished upon the island. After a residence of three months in the Isle of France, Mr. and Mrs. Judson embarked for Madras, still undetermined as to what should be their future course, and calmly waiting the indications of Providence to point them to the spot whereon they should commence their labors as Christian missionaries.

At Madras they encountered new proofs of the violent opposition to missionary labor, which had become so deeply seated in the minds of the Directors of the government in India. Their friends, Rev. Messrs. Hall and Nott, in a neighboring presidency, had just been ordered to embark for England, and it was apprehended, if their own arrival at Madras should be reported at Calcutta, that a similar order would be issued for their departure. War had now broken out between England and America, and the officers of the Company were pleased to stigmatize the missionaries as political spies, whom it was not safe to leave unwatched in any of the English Dependencies. In these circumstances their first inquiry, on their arrival at Madras, was what ships were lying in the harbor ready for sea. The only one they found was bound for Rangoon, the chief port of the Burman empire, and without delay they secured their passage.

More than sixteen months had now elapsed since Mr. and Mrs. Judson sailed from Salem, to encounter the unknown trials and discouragements of a missionary life. The career that then lay before them was one with which they were wholly unacquainted, and it would be strange if the imagination had not lent to it some of the colorings of romance. Yet how checkered and troubled had it been! How marked at every stage by the superintending care of Him who shapes the ends of his servants, and out of trial and discouragement educes their highest spiritual good! Defeated in the plans they had formed, driven from the countries which they had entered, harassed and perplexed

with the opposition of men who ought to have befriended them, separated, by their change of sentiments, from those with whom they had always been associated — alone, and at a distance from country and friends, the situation of these noble-hearted missionaries was one of no common trial and embarrassment. But Heaven had them in keeping, and had appointed them to its own chosen work in the land to which they were now about to sail — a land presenting, indeed, no attractions of domestic comfort or of social refinement — dark with idolatry and heathen cruelty, but soon to be illustrated by signal displays of divine grace, and by the heroic labors of devoted missionaries.

It was on the 22d of June, 1813, that Mr. and Mrs. Judson set sail from Madras for Rangoon. The passage was boisterous and dangerous, and more than once the ship was near being cast upon some of those hidden reefs that line the coral shores of the Indian seas. After a passage of three weeks they at length, on the 14th of July, came to anchor in the harbor of Rangoon, and gazed for the first time at the pagodas and temples that deck the town, and the hills which rise in the distance.

Rangoon is the principal seaport of the Burman empire, and is situated about thirty miles from the sea, on a broad bay, known as Rangoon river, and forming one of the outlets of the Irrawaddy. It has a harbor of the amplest dimensions for the largest ships, but the town is built on a marshy meadow which stretches along the banks of the river, and, as you approach it from the sea, presents a vast assemblage of low bamboo houses, resting on piles, with here and there a dwelling of brick or of wood to vary its monotonous aspect. In 1813 it was supposed to contain about 40,000 inhabitants, a small portion of whom were of Armenian and Portuguese extraction. The great mass of its people, however, were of the Mongolian race, over whom European civilization had exerted no meliorating influences. It was at that time subject to the sway of a fierce and cruel viceroy, who maintained there the dark despotism of his imperial master, and governed the wretched natives with a stern and arbitrary

rule that crushed, with its iron hand, all freedom of action and opinion.

Rangoon had been the seat of a mission planted in 1807 by the English Baptists, and placed under the direction of the missionaries at Serampore; but that mission was now abandoned, and those who had been engaged in prosecuting it had all left the city, with the exception of Mrs. Felix Carey, the wife of one of the missionaries. This lady, though of European extraction, was a native of the country, and still dwelt at the house which had been erected for the accommodation of the mission, in a retired spot without the walls of the town. On their arrival at Rangoon, Mr. and Mrs. Judson might well have shrunk from the cheerless scene which lay before them, and recorded the day which brought them there as the gloomiest and most distressing of their lives. The perils which they had escaped in their recent voyage, the disappointments which had followed them ever since their arrival in India, the separation and the loss of their friends and associates,* the ill health of Mrs. Judson, and the darkening prospect of the cheerless heathen land that stretched on every side around them,—all reminded them how far they were now removed from human sympathy, and brought them, in humble hope and trustful reliance, to the feet of their heavenly Father. In the unoccupied apartments of the spacious mission house they took up their abode, and immediately commenced their preparation for the great work of making known the gospel,—which, amid all the disasters and discouragements of their course, had been constantly before them, like a serene and benignant star peering through the mists and clouds of a stormy sky. It had shone upon them in all their wanderings from country to country, till it seemed to rest upon that to which they had come. Their other plans had been frustrated—other

* On their arrival at the Isle of France, the missionaries were informed of the death of Mrs. Harriet Newell, who died on her passage to that island, November 30th, 1812. She had long been on terms of the greatest intimacy with Mrs. Judson, by whom her early death was mourned with all the tenderness of a sister's affection.

fields of labor had been closed against them, and Burmah alone seemed to be the land which Heaven had selected as the scene of their humble mission.

Here let us leave them for a time, and turn to follow the fortunes of Mr. Rice, hitherto their associate in the work of founding the missions of the American Baptists. While the missionaries were detained at the Isle of France, waiting for the events of Providence to determine the course of their action, it was decided that Mr. Rice should return to America for the purpose of awakening the interest of the Baptist churches here in the work of propagating the gospel among the heathen of the Eastern world. He accordingly set sail for San Salvador, and arrived in the United States in September, 1813; choosing this circuitous passage in order to escape the English cruisers, which since the breaking out of the war had infested the ocean, and ravaged the commerce of the Americans.

Immediately after Messrs. Judson and Rice had avowed their change of sentiments respecting baptism, and had received the rite according to its apostolic form at the hands of Rev. Mr. Ward, they communicated the fact to the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners, and at the same time stated, that should a missionary society be formed by the Baptists, they were ready to place themselves under its direction in the prosecution of their labors. They also wrote to Rev. Dr. Baldwin, stating the same general facts, and urging the importance of forming a Baptist Missionary Society. The same views were also strongly urged by Dr. Carey and the other missionaries at Serampore. These letters were received at Boston in February, 1813. The intelligence which they contained spread with electric rapidity, and imparted to the spirit of benevolence and the sense of Christian obligation a depth and fervor such as they before had never experienced. Immediately on the receipt of the letter of Mr. Judson, a meeting of several of the leading ministers of Massachusetts was convened at the house of Dr. Baldwin, in Boston, in order to consider the new attitude in which these events had placed the churches. But one senti-

ment of deep and fervent thankfulness filled the minds of all who were present. The indications of Providence were too plain to be mistaken, and the clergymen who were thus assembled proceeded immediately to form the "Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and other Foreign Parts." The society was so organized as to admit of its coöperating with any other societies that might be formed for the same purpose in other sections of the country, and one of the articles of its constitution plainly pointed to the organization of a General Convention, composed of delegates from societies in every part of the Union. The formation of this society was the first movement that sprang from the new events in the East, and, though apparently local in its character, is undoubtedly to be regarded as the germ of the Triennial Convention of a later period, which for so long a time managed the missions of the American Baptists.

One of the earliest acts of the new society was to direct the secretary, Rev. Daniel Sharp, to communicate the circumstances of Mr. Judson to the Directors of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, and to propose that he should become connected with the mission at Serampore, and at the same time receive his support from the churches in America.* The secretary was also directed to communicate to Mr. Judson the assurance that, whenever the Board of Commissioners should discontinue their patronage, his support would be furnished by the society. The Managers of the English Baptist Mission declined the proposal, and Mr. Fuller, their secretary, sent a reply, in which he urged the importance of having a distinct missionary association, which should be entirely supported and controlled by the Baptists of America.

* The letters which were addressed to Mr. Fuller in England, and Mr. Judson in Burmah, have been placed in my hands by their now venerable writer. They breathe a liberal and generous spirit, and show full well that the views which prevailed in the Massachusetts Society were by no means narrow or unworthy. The request to the English Directors seems to have had its origin solely in the impression that Mr. Judson would be more useful and happy if associated with the experienced missionaries at Serampore, than if laboring alone.

At this juncture Mr. Rice arrived in the United States from India, and by his personal narratives and his earnest appeals, was immediately instrumental in imparting new energy to the interest which had been already widely excited through the country. In February, 1814, he was present at the meeting of the managers of the new society, which was also attended by delegates from the Haverhill and the Salem Foreign Mission Societies. The great object of that meeting was to devise a method for enlisting the interest and coöperation of the entire denomination in the enterprise of Foreign Missions. It was arranged that an address should be prepared and sent to all parts of the Union, setting forth the great obligations which God in his providence had imposed upon the Baptists of America, in consequence of the secession of the missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners. Rev. Mr. Rice was also appointed an agent to travel in the Middle and Southern States, in order to promote the formation of societies that should coöperate with those of New England in sending the gospel to the heathen. The measures which were thus adopted were every where attended with the most gratifying success.

The intelligence that American missionaries in the East had become Baptists, and had requested to be received and supported as the missionaries of the denomination, went through the country like the sound of a trumpet. It was an event which no one had anticipated, and it seemed to appeal to the Christian zeal and the sympathies of all the churches with a power that could not be withstood. It swept away alike the prejudices and the indifference with which the subject had hitherto been regarded, and presented the cause of Eastern Missions as a matter of undoubted obligation, and of transcendent interest to every one who loved the Saviour and was attached to the principles and modes of worship of the Baptists. In the course of the year after the formation of the society in Massachusetts, similar associations were formed in nearly all the older States of the Union, and the addresses which were put forth by many of them still remain as delightful memorials of the eloquence and talent,

not less than of the earnest piety and comprehensive zeal, of the venerated men who at that day stood at the head of the Baptist communion.

It was soon agreed among these several societies that a meeting of delegates from all the States whose churches had become connected with the cause, should be held at some central place, for the purpose of organizing a national society. Philadelphia was fixed upon as the place, and the delegates were appointed to assemble in May, 1814. After the proposed convention had been announced, and the time and place of its meeting had been fixed, it immediately became a subject of the most eager and earnest expectations among the churches in all parts of the land. No general meeting of the denomination had then ever been held, and, as was natural, the one proposed was anticipated with feelings of interest and hope and Christian thankfulness, which, in these later days, we cannot easily estimate. We may well believe, that to thousands of Christian hearts it was the subject of many an humble prayer—the burden of many a pious aspiration.

CHAPTER III.

MEETING at Philadelphia.—Formation of the Triennial Convention.—Appointment of Messrs. Judson and Rice as Missionaries.—The Labors of Mr. Rice.—Financial Basis of the Mission.

ON the 18th of May, 1814, there assembled in Philadelphia a general meeting of delegates from missionary societies and other religious bodies of the Baptist persuasion in various parts of the United States. The great object of the meeting, as set forth in its records, was “to organize a plan for eliciting, combining, and directing the energies of the whole denomination in one sacred effort for sending the glad tidings of salvation to

the heathen, and to nations destitute of pure gospel light." It was an assemblage of plain and earnest-minded men, members of a Christian sect which, alike in the old world and the new, had struggled with unusual difficulties and deep-rooted prejudices. It presented no array of clerical pomp or ecclesiastical authority, and was, perhaps, but little noticed among the moving throng of a great metropolis. Yet it was a meeting of no common importance, for it was destined to unite the interests and concentrate the efforts of more than a hundred thousand Christians, in the execution of the great commission which the Saviour of men has entrusted to his chosen disciples till the end of time.

The meeting was composed of twenty-six clergymen and seven laymen, from eleven different States and from the District of Columbia, many of whom now for the first time looked upon each others' faces and grasped each others' hands with fraternal welcome. Their names stand upon the records in the following order:—

Rev. Thomas Baldwin, D. D.	}	State of Massachusetts.
" Lucius Bolles, A. M.		
" Stephen Gano, A. M.	}	State of Rhode Island.
" John Williams,		
Mr. Thomas Hewitt,	}	State of New York.
" Edward Probyn,		
" Nathaniel Smith,		
Rev. Burgiss Allison, D. D.	}	State of New Jersey.
" Richard Proudfoot,		
" Josiah Stratton,		
" William Boswell,		
" Henry Smalley, A. M.		
Mr. Mathew Randall,	}	
" John Sisty,		
" Stephen Ustick.		
Rev. William Rogers, D. D.	}	State of Pennsylvania.
" Henry Holcombe, D. D.		
" William Staughton, D. D.		
" William White, A. M.		
" John P. Peekworth		
" Horatio G. Jones,	}	State of Delaware.
" Silas Hough,		
" Joseph Mathias,		
" Daniel Dodge,	}	State of Maryland.
" Lewis Richards,		
" Thomas Brooke,	}	District of Columbia.
" Luther Rice, A. M.		
" Robert B. Semple,	}	State of Virginia.
" Jacob Grigg,		
" James A. Ranaldson,	}	State of North Carolina.
" Richard Furman, D. D.		
Hon. Matthias B. Tallmadge,	}	State of South Carolina.
Rev. W. B. Johnson,		State of Georgia.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Rev. Dr. Furman of South Carolina, as President, and Rev. Dr. Baldwin of Massachusetts, as Secretary, and the appointment of a committee, consisting of Rev. Drs. Furman and Baldwin, and Rev. Messrs. Gano, Temple and White, to draft a constitution which should give definite character and aims to the body. The following is the Constitution as it was finally adopted, after being fully discussed and amended article by article, by the unanimous vote of the Convention :

WE, the delegates from Missionary Societies, and other religious bodies of the Baptist denomination, in various parts of the United States, met in Convention, in the City of Philadelphia, for the purpose of carrying into effect the benevolent intentions of our constituents, by organizing a plan for eliciting, combining, and directing the energies of the whole denomination in one sacred effort for sending the glad tidings of Salvation to the heathen, and to nations destitute of pure Gospel light, DO AGREE to the following rules as fundamental principles, viz :

I. That this body shall be styled "THE GENERAL MISSIONARY CONVENTION OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS."

II. That a Triennial Convention shall, hereafter, be held, consisting of Delegates, not exceeding two in number, from each of the several Missionary Societies, and other religious bodies of the Baptist Denomination, now existing, or which may hereafter be formed in the United States, and which shall each regularly contribute to the general Missionary Fund, a sum amounting at least to one hundred dollars per annum.

III. That for the necessary transaction and despatch of business, during the recess of the said Convention, there shall be a Board of twenty-one Commissioners, who shall be members of the said Societies, Churches, or other religious bodies aforesaid, triennially appointed by the said Convention, by ballot, to be called the "Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States;" seven of whom shall be a quorum for the transaction of all business; and which Board shall continue in office until successors be duly appointed; and shall have power to make and adopt by-laws for the government of the said Board, and for the furtherance of the general-objects of the Institution.

IV. That it shall be the duty of this Board to employ missionaries, and, if necessary, to take measures for the improvement of their qualifications; to fix on the field of their labors, and the compensation to be allowed them for their services; to superintend their conduct, and dismiss them, should their services be disapproved; to publish accounts, from time to time, of the Board's transactions, and an annual address to the public; to call a special meeting of the Convention on any extraordinary occasion, and, in general, to conduct the executive part of the missionary concern.

V. That such persons only, as are in full communion with some regular

church of our denomination, and who furnish satisfactory evidence of genuine piety, good talents, and fervent zeal for the Redeemer's cause, are to be employed as missionaries.

VI. That the Board shall choose, by ballot, one President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Corresponding, and a Recording Secretary.

VII. That the President, or in case of his absence or disability, the senior Vice-President present, shall preside in all meetings of the Board, and when application shall be made in writing, by any two of its members, shall call a special meeting of the Board, giving due notice thereof.

VIII. That the Treasurer shall receive and faithfully account for all the monies paid into the treasury, keep a regular account of receipts and disbursements, make a report thereof to the said Convention, whenever it shall be in session, and to the Board of Missions annually, and as often as by them required. He shall also, before he enters on the duties of his office, give competent security, to be approved by the Board, for the stock and funds that may be committed to his care.

IX. That the Corresponding Secretary shall maintain intercourse by letter with such individuals, societies, or public bodies, as the interests of the institution may require. Copies of all communications made by the particular direction of the Convention or Board, shall be by him handed to the Recording Secretary, for record and safe keeping.

X. That the Recording Secretary shall, ex officio, be the Secretary of the Convention, unless some other be by them appointed in his stead. He shall attend all the meetings of the Board, and keep a fair record of all their proceedings, and of the transactions of the Convention.

XI. That in case of the death, resignation, or disability of any of its officers, or members, the Board shall have power to fill such vacancy.

XII. That the said Convention shall have power, and in the interval of their meeting, the Board of Commissioners, on the recommendation of any one of the constituent bodies belonging to the Convention, shall also have power, to elect honorary members of piety and distinguished liberality, who, on their election, shall be entitled to a seat, and to take part in the debates of the Convention: but it shall be understood that the right of voting shall be confined to the delegates.

XIII. That in case any of the constituent bodies shall be unable to send representatives to the said Convention, they shall be permitted to vote by proxy, which proxy shall be appointed by writing.

XIV. That any alterations, which experience may dictate from time to time, may be made in these articles, at the regular meeting of the Convention, by two thirds of the members present.

The Convention having thus completed its organization, proceeded to its only remaining work, — the election of a Board of Managers, who should be charged with the executive labors and trusts of the institution, during the three years which should elapse before the convention would meet again. Thus ter-

minated the first general meeting of American Baptists for the purpose of promoting missions among the heathen. It formed a new era in their history, and produced results of the most beneficial character. Not only was a new missionary organization added to the institutions of national philanthropy, but a new efficiency and energy were created in a large and growing body of Christians whose churches had hitherto been widely separated, and whose ministers, comparatively few in number, had hitherto wanted the confidence and the enterprise which generous union always imparts to the spirit of philanthropic men.*

The constitution of the new society was framed with but little experience, and almost without the aid of models; yet it was perhaps well suited to the condition and spirit of the denomination, as it then was, in this country. It originally contained provisions only for the support of Foreign Missions; but at subsequent meetings it was modified in several important particulars, and made to include both Domestic Missions, and the establishment of a "Classical and Theological Seminary" for the education of young men, especially for the gospel ministry. The introduction of this latter object into the organization of the convention had its origin in the deep sense of the importance of a well-educated ministry, which at that time pervaded the minds of the fathers and the leading men of the denomination. This provision of the constitution gave rise to the establishment of the Columbian College at Washington, D. C. an institution which was founded and long managed by the Triennial Convention. In 1826 the constitution was again changed, so as to exclude from its objects both the care of the college, and of Domestic Missions. Some other important changes were also made at different periods, but with these exceptions, the Constitution, as originally adopted in 1814, continued to be the fundamental law of the Convention, till May, 1846, when that body was merged in the American Baptist Missionary Union.

* Of this Board, Rev. William Staughton, D. D. was appointed Corresponding Secretary, and the seat of its business affairs was fixed at Philadelphia. Mr. John Cauldwell of New York was appointed Treasurer.

Immediately on the adjournment of the Convention at Philadelphia in 1814, the Board of Managers was organized, and its members entered upon the duties which had been assigned to them. Their first work was formally to appoint Rev. Adoniram Judson as their missionary, and to make provision for the support of himself and his family. They also appointed Rev. Luther Rice to the same office, but directed that he should continue, for the present, in the United States, in order to awaken in the public mind throughout the country, a livelier interest in missions, and "to assist in originating societies or institutions for carrying the missionary design into execution."

Mr. Rice had been already engaged in this work, for nearly a year. He had traversed the Union, and mingled freely with the people alike of his own and of other denominations; he had partaken of their hospitalities, and addressed to hundreds of congregations the rapt predictions of the prophets, and the thrilling exhortations of the apostles, concerning the extension and the ultimate triumphs of the Redeemer's kingdom among men. He had himself stood amidst the temples of heathenism, and had witnessed their cruel abominations; and as, with his ardent imagination, he drew the life-like pictures of those benighted lands, multitudes would hang upon his lips, and follow his footsteps with an enthusiasm that had seldom been known since the days of the itinerant eloquence of Whitfield. He had organized twenty-five new missionary societies, besides directing to Foreign Missions the efforts and contributions of many which had existed before, and had been enabled to create an interest in the cause such as all other agencies combined had failed to produce.

It was in circumstances like these, and at a time when ardent and gifted minds were few, that Mr. Rice was invited to remain at home, and assume, to a considerable extent, the management of the new institution for Foreign Missions, instead of going, according to his original design and appointment, as a pioneer in their cause. He had every quality essential to the discharge of a great executive office, excepting discretion alone,—that one without which knowledge and piety, and zeal the most

disinterested, are clearly unavailing. The inextricable confusion in which his affairs were at length involved, proved so serious an embarrassment to all the interests of the Convention, as at last, in some degree, to cast a shade over his distinguished services, and almost to eclipse the singular disinterestedness which shone so brightly through all his character. Yet, notwithstanding his imperfections and errors—and these had their origin in a too ardent and unrestrained imagination,—his name deserves to be enrolled among the ablest and most devoted of the founders of our American Missions, for he accomplished a work which no one of his contemporaries could have possibly achieved.

From the examinations of a committee who had been appointed to inquire into the number, state, and prospects of the Baptist Foreign Mission Societies which had been formed in the different States of the Union, it appeared that they had already paid into the treasury the sum of four thousand dollars, and that, according to the best estimates which could be made, the sum of five thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars might safely be relied on as the annual income which they would furnish for the support of the missions of the Board. Under such circumstances, and with such resources, were commenced the missions of the American Baptists. The beginnings were indeed humble, and but little in proportion either to the number of our churches or their real ability. The country was at that time, it is true, plunged in a war with England, and its general prosperity was suffering a sad reverse. In addition to this, it must also be remembered, that the era of public charity had not yet commenced, and that the people of every class throughout the land had not then formed the habit of making pecuniary sacrifices in obedience to the requirements of duty, or the promptings of benevolence. It was therefore deemed a matter of special congratulation and thankfulness, that even these inconsiderable funds could be raised for the support of a species of philanthropy, whose subjects were the inhabitants of a distant continent, and whose claims could be addressed to the sympathies only of truly Christian minds.

CHAPTER IV.

LABORS of Mr. Judson at Rangoon. — Study of the Language. — Burmah: its People: Government: Religion. — Arrival of Rev. Mr. Hough with a Printing Press. — Translation of the Scriptures commenced. — Books printed. — First Burman Inquirer.

It was not till the 5th of September, 1815, that the packet containing the intelligence of the formation of the Baptist Missionary Convention, with an account of its proceedings, reached Mr. Judson at Rangoon. He had been residing there more than two years, diligently engaged in the study of the language, and in observing the condition of the country and the character of the people. During this period Mrs. Judson had suffered from alarming sickness, and was now absent at Madras for the recovery of her health. In this solitary condition, thus separated from the only person on whom he could rely for sympathy and society, we may imagine how welcome were the tidings, which now came to him, of the organization of the Convention, and the awakening of a missionary spirit so widely among the churches. He contemplated these results with a delight such as no other events could have awakened, and recorded them in his journal with pious gratitude, as new proofs of God's merciful designs for the benighted heathen.

The mission in Burmah might now be considered as fairly started, and placed on a basis that promised to secure its permanency, and, with the favor of Heaven, its ultimate success. The difficulties and obstacles, however, that lay before the missionary were such as might have dismayed any but the most resolute faith, and the most indomitable perseverance. The language was one which presented many difficulties, especially to a person unaccustomed to the dialects of the East, and obliged to commence its acquisition only with the most imperfect aids; and, though possessed of unusual aptitude for this species of study,



and aided by a Burman teacher of considerable learning and assiduity, he yet found himself advancing but slowly in its acquisition. Some idea may be formed of the extreme difficulty he encountered in mastering this language from the following account, written after he had been engaged in its study more than two years and a half:—"I just now begin to see my way forward in this language, and hope that two or three years more will make it somewhat familiar; but I have met with difficulties that I had no idea of before I entered on the work. For an European or American to acquire a living oriental language, root and branch, and make it his own, is quite a different thing from his acquiring a cognate language of the West, or any of the dead languages, as they are studied in the schools. One circumstance may serve to illustrate this. I once had occasion to devote a few months to the study of the French. I have now been engaged two years and a half in the Burman. But if I were to choose between a Burman and a French book, to be examined in without previous study, I should, without the least hesitation, choose the French."

The condition of the Burman empire, its people, and its institutions both civil and religious, have been often fully described;* yet a brief notice of them seems necessary in a narrative of the hinderances and encouragements which the missionaries have experienced in their attempts to introduce Christianity into this ancient home of despotism and superstition.

The country of Burmah is that part of India beyond the Ganges, lying between Hindostan on the west and China on the east. It formerly included the ancient kingdoms of Ava, Cassay, Arracan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, together with the territory of the Shyans; but at the close of the war in 1826 Arracan and Tenasserim were ceded to the English, and a large part of Cassay became independent. The imperial dominions were thus

* See Mrs. Judson's History of the Burman Mission, Crawford's Embassy to Ava, and Malcom's Travels. Upon these I rely for the accuracy of the views here presented.

reduced to two thirds of their former extent, and now embrace Ava, Pegu, a small part of Cassay, and nearly the whole of the Shyan country. The population of the original empire has been exceedingly variously estimated; some travellers having placed it as high as 30,000,000, while others have made it not more than 3,000,000. It may, however, be safely put down as not far from 8,000,000; but of these, Rev. Dr. Malcom supposes that not more than 3,000,000 speak the Burman language—the remainder, comprising the Arracanese, Peguans, Shyans, and Karens, using dialects peculiar to the races to which they belong, and to the provinces in which they live.

The people are commonly described as unusually energetic, ingenious, lively, and intelligent, when compared with other Eastern races. In strength and activity, both of body and mind, they are decidedly superior to the Hindoos, who border their territory on the west, and they are in most respects fully equal to the Chinese, who occupy the country nearest them on the east. They are not fierce or revengeful, and in their domestic relations they are said to be affectionate and faithful; yet their character is marked by distrust, deception, and low cunning,—vices which a bad government and a false religion invariably engender in the minds of a people. Veracity is strictly enjoined in their moral code, but it is seldom practiced where there is the slightest temptation to depart from it, and a Burman's word is never to be relied upon unless he is placed under oath, when he seldom fails to speak the truth. Caste does not prevail among them, as among the Hindoos, and, as rank is not hereditary, the distinctions of social life are less marked than in most other countries, whether of Asia or of Europe. In the inferior rank which they assign to woman, and in the reckless manner in which they trifle with her rights and her happiness, they, however, present one feature which always indicates a low stage of civilization. The education of women is entirely neglected, and the little intellectual culture there is in the country is confined to the men, who are generally proud and self-confident in all ranks of life, and disposed to think themselves superior to the rest of mankind.

The government is an imperial despotism of the most unqualified character. The monarch is sole and absolute proprietor of the life and the possessions of his subjects, and his word is irresistible and irrevocable law. In the imperial edicts his name is associated with the loftiest and most imposing titles, and he styles himself, or is styled by his courtiers, "Lord of the land and the sea," and "Master of life and of death." Four ministers of state, called *Atwenwoons*, constitute his private council, and constantly surround his person; and four or six others, called *Woongyees*, are the heads of the several departments of his government, and the only medium of communication between him and his people; they also constitute the supreme court of the empire. An oriental despotism knows no legislative assembly; the monarch is alike the maker and the executor of the law, and the courts are but the promulgators and interpreters of his will. The imperial domain is divided into districts, each of which is governed by a viceroy with a subordinate court, the presiding officer of which is called the *Yahwoon*; but the character of the chief who sits upon the throne is impressed upon all who bear the royal commission, and the stern decree which goes forth from the palace at the capital, is transmitted by the *Woongyees* through ministers of every grade, until it is executed upon millions of subjects in every part of the empire.

The religion of the Burmans is Buddhism, one of the most ancient and wide-spread superstitions now existing on the earth, and one which, in its various branches, holds beneath its gloomy sway the minds of nearly half the human race. In Burmah, it arrays itself in a form imposing to the imagination, and stimulating to the hopes and fears of men, while it exercises over the mind the power derived from immemorial existence, and from the traditions and associations of a hundred generations. Buddh is the general name for divinity, but the religion to which it lends its name is a system of absolute atheism. It teaches that there has been a succession of Buddhs, or incarnations of divinity, though with long intervals between them, who, through various transmigrations, have attained the highest merit of every

kind in previous states of existence. According to the legends contained in the sacred books, the last Buddh was Gaudama, who was born in the seventh century before Christ, became Buddh when thirty-five years of age, and continued so forty-five years, after which he passed into the state of *Nigban*, which by some is understood to mean quiescence, or eternal repose, and by others, absolute annihilation. The next Buddh is to appear in about ten thousand years from the departure of Gaudama, and, though the precise time of his appearance is not fixed, yet his stature and dimensions, and the outlines of his person, are all fully described in the sacred writings. In the long intervals between the departure and appearance of the Buddhs, there is in reality no living God, and this system thus presents to the faith of its followers no conception of an eternal being, or a great First Cause, existing before the worlds were made, and destined to exist when the worlds shall cease to be. It involves innumerable contradictions and childish absurdities; yet it is riveted, with all the tenacity of an oriental faith, upon the minds of hundreds of millions of immortal beings.

The principal objects of worship among the Burmans are images of Gaudama, which are manufactured of different sizes in great numbers, and for which the demand is so great that marble, the favorite material of which they are made, is not allowed to be used for other purposes. These images are kept in private houses, or set up in the *zayats* or public halls of every village, and attached to the pagodas or temples which are erected in countless numbers in all parts of the empire. These structures vary in size and architectural proportions and appearance, but are for the most part solid masses of masonry, closed on every side, with their small interior space filled with sacred treasures, relics and offerings consecrated to the divinity. With their lofty spires or pointed minarets standing against the sky, they constitute the most prominent feature of every landscape; they tower far above the dwellings of every city, and rise from every bluff and hill in all the inhabited parts of the country. Many of them are beautifully decorated and covered with gilt "from turret

to foundation stone," and, when seen at a distance, they often present an appearance of imposing magnificence. On some of the pagodas are suspended small bells at different points, with fans or sheets of iron attached to their tongues, so that, when moved by a gentle breeze, they give forth a pleasant chime, and seem to fill the air with mysterious music. Both temples and images are regarded with great respect by the people, though neither are formally consecrated to the purposes of worship.

The priesthood is a very large and regularly organized body, and its members are initiated into the order with peculiar ceremonies. The rules regulating the lives and conduct of the priests are numerous and exact, though they are but imperfectly obeyed. The priests conduct no religious service at the *zayats* or pagodas, and perform no rites of worship for the people. Bound to celibacy, they live together in *kyoungs* or monasteries, where they often occupy themselves in the gratuitous instruction of such male children as are sent to them for the purpose. They wear a peculiar dress of yellow cloth, and are supported by contributions of rice and other articles of food, which they receive, in their daily rounds, from the people. They attend funerals, and frequently preach when requested and paid for the service; but their office is almost entirely a sinecure; though, with all their indolence and indifference, they undoubtedly exert a powerful influence over the minds of the people, and render them far less accessible, than they would otherwise be, to the truths of the gospel as they are proclaimed by the missionaries.

Though this religion imposes a multitude of ceremonies and superstitious observances, it is remarkable for its entire want of sympathy with any of the interests or the sufferings of humanity. It makes the attainment of merit the great end of life, but this merit consists in any thing rather than the charities and amenities which belong to man's higher nature; hence the instruction of the ignorant, the relief of the poor, the consolation of the afflicted and the suffering, are not among the duties it enjoins. Its moral code, however, sets forth the sins which are to be avoided in five leading commandments: — 1. Thou shalt not kill;

2. Thou shalt not steal ; 3. Thou shalt not commit adultery ; 4. Thou shalt not lie ; 5. Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor. These prohibitions, so far as they extend, are sufficient of themselves to exalt Buddhism far above many other false religions of the East ; but it contains no positive precepts that are fitted to raise and purify the nature of man. Its commands and its prohibitions are alike designed for selfish advantage ; they refer the doubting conscience to no sanctions of a superior being, and point the soul oppressed with sin to no ideals of excellence and holiness ; they present " nothing as the ultimate object of action but self ; and nothing for man's highest and holiest ambition, but annihilation."

So soon as Mr. Judson had acquired a sufficient mastery of the language to be able to write it with tolerable accuracy, he prepared a tract on the nature of the Christian religion, containing an abstract of its leading doctrines. This was his first public labor ; and, undertaken as it was when his constitution was enfeebled by years of laborious confinement to his perplexing studies, it gave rise to a disease of the nervous system, which attacked his eyes and head so violently, that he became unable either to study or even to hear reading in English. He was on the eve of sailing to Bengal for the benefit of his health, when he received the welcome tidings that Mr. and Mrs. Hough and Mrs. White, a new company of missionaries from America, had arrived at Calcutta, and would soon join the mission at Rangoon. This most gratifying intelligence decided him at first to delay his intended voyage, and at length to abandon it altogether.

Rev. George H. Hough, Mrs. Phebe M. Hough, and Mrs. Charlotte White, had been appointed by the Board, missionaries to Burmah in the summer of 1815. Mr. Hough had been bred a printer, and had worked at the trade in the United States. They sailed from Philadelphia in the following December, and arrived at Calcutta in April, 1816. Here they were delayed for several months, during which time Mrs. White was married to Rev. Mr. Rowe, of the English Baptist Mission at Digah, in

Hindustan. On the 15th of October, 1816, Mr. and Mrs. Hough arrived at Rangoon, having already sent before them a printing press and a font of Burman types, which had been presented to the mission by their English brethren at Serampore. Here they were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Judson with more than common delight, both as fellow laborers in carrying forward the mission, and as messengers from the distant but unforgotten land of their birth and their affections. They had been exiled for three years from civilized society, dwelling amid the rude barbarities of the heathen; and now, to receive to their secluded home, intelligent associates, and Christian countrymen and friends, was a source of joy and thankfulness, such as can be fully appreciated only by those who have been placed in similar circumstances. Mr. Judson's health was soon reëstablished, and he set himself with renewed vigor about preparing a grammar, to aid the newly-arrived missionaries in the acquisition of the difficult Burman tongue.

From the commencement of the mission, the Burmans, whenever the new teachers were spoken of, had been accustomed to inquire for the sacred books of their religion. In order to meet this natural demand of a shrewd and sagacious people, it was decided by the missionaries that portions of the Scriptures and brief accounts of Christianity should be printed and put in circulation as speedily as possible. To the tract entitled 'Summary of Christian Doctrines,' which Mr. Judson had already prepared, he now added a Catechism, and immediately commenced the translation of the Gospel of Matthew, in order that the minds of the people might be prepared for the reception of the truth when it should be publicly preached to them. The tracts were immediately printed, the Summary in an edition of a thousand copies, and the Catechism in an edition of three thousand copies, and the Gospel of Matthew was published soon after.

Four years had now elapsed since Mr. and Mrs. Judson first established themselves at Rangoon. In all this time, though no one had been converted to the Christian faith, yet a great change had gradually taken place in the circumstances and prospects of

the mission. Its efficiency had been greatly increased by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Hough, and the donation of the printing press. A church had been organized at Rangoon by the missionaries, and though they had as yet made no attempts publicly to preach the gospel, their character and objects had become well known by their conversations with the people, and by the tracts which they had printed and circulated, copies of which had penetrated the interior of the empire. In these circumstances, it seemed as if a new era was about to dawn on the progress of the mission, and as if the merciful Providence, which had hitherto watched over the lives of the missionaries, was about to bestow upon them still more encouraging proofs of its favor. Nor were these indications destined to be wholly deceptive. In the meetings which Mrs. Judson was accustomed to hold for the religious instruction of the Burman women, much serious interest was occasionally evinced in the truths of the new religion, and the little circle would often leave the eloquent and gifted teacher with a sense of the insufficiency of their own superstitious faith deeply impressed upon every mind.

At about the same time, also, Mr. Judson was visited by the first Burman who had ever come to him avowedly in the character and spirit of an inquirer. Others had visited him to gratify an idle curiosity, or to dispute with him concerning the doctrines of Gaudama, but no one before had come to ask "how he might learn the religion of Jesus," or to express a belief in the existence of God. He was evidently a person of rank, and of superior intelligence; he bore away with him copies of all the books which had been printed, and left the missionaries with hopes of approaching blessings such as never before had been awakened in their minds.

CHAPTER V.

CONVENTION meets at Philadelphia.—Appointment of Messrs. Colman and Wheelock.—Mr. Judson sails for Chittagong.—Troubles of the Mission during his Absence.—His Return.—Mr. Hough embarks for Calcutta.—Arrival of Messrs. Colman and Wheelock at Rangoon.—Death of Mr. Wheelock.—Opening of the Zayat.—Baptism of the first Convert.—Jealousy of the Government.—Messrs. Judson and Colman go to Ava to obtain Toleration from the King.

IN May, 1817, the Convention held its first triennial meeting at Philadelphia. Most of the facts and the incidents which we have narrated in the foregoing pages were at this time presented to the meeting in the report of the Board of Managers. The measures hitherto adopted by that body were fully approved by the Convention; and several new ones of great importance, the fruit of increased interest and of larger views respecting the objects before them, were also recommended as the basis of future action. The constitution was also modified in such a manner as to embrace the domestic missions which might be established in the United States, and also to authorize the establishment of a Classical and Theological Seminary, for the purpose of educating pious young men who should be deemed to possess "gifts and graces suited to the gospel ministry."

At the same meeting communications were read from Messrs. James Colman and Edward W. Wheelock, offering themselves as missionaries to Burmah. These young men were both residents of Boston, Mr. Wheelock being a member of the second and Mr. Colman of the third Baptist church in that city. They were found on examination to be possessed of worthy talents and of true Christian philanthropy; their testimonials were approved by the managers, and they were gladly accepted as missionaries. They embarked in the following November at Boston, amidst many encouraging manifestations of sympathy

and love both for them and the cause in which they were engaged. During this session of the Triennial Convention, the Board of Managers appointed three several committees, one for the Eastern States, one for the Southern, and one for the Western, to examine such young men in these portions of the country respectively as might offer their services to the Board as missionaries. By the agency of these committees, in different portions of the United States, by the wider diffusion of the American Baptist Magazine, which had now taken the place of the Massachusetts Magazine, and especially by the pious and devoted observance of the monthly concert of prayer, which was formally recommended to the churches of the country, the Convention aimed still further to rouse the energy and to enlist the entire ability of the growing denomination, in the great work which was now fully before them. At the close of the session the members separated from each other with hopes greatly raised, and with confidence stronger than it had ever been before in their ability to maintain the mission and make it a source of inestimable blessings to the heathen. They looked forward to the day when they should hear of the happy results of their pious efforts and deliberations, and when distant nations, illuminated with the light of heavenly truth, should bless the Convention for sending the glad tidings of salvation to their benighted shores.

While these auspicious events were taking place in America, and new indications of missionary interest were presenting themselves in all parts of the country, far different omens were preparing for the little band of missionaries at Rangoon, and the flattering prospects which just now lay before them, were soon to be broken by dangers and alarms.

So long a period had now been devoted to the acquisition of the language by Mr. and Mrs. Judson, and so much had actually been accomplished in conversation with the natives, in the circulation of the tracts and the Gospel which Mr. Hough had printed, that it was decided by the missionaries to commence preaching in a more public manner. Yet so many obstacles

seemed to stand in the way of his going abroad among the Burmans in his capacity of teacher of the new religion, that Mr. Judson determined to secure the aid of the Arracanese converts at Chittagong, in a neighboring province, whose people spoke the Burman language. For this purpose, and also for the improvement of his health, he embarked for Chittagong, expecting to be absent only for a brief interval, and leaving Mrs. Judson to continue her meetings for the instruction of the Burman women, and Mr. and Mrs. Hough to prosecute the study of the language. Mr. Judson had intended to return at the end of three months with the fellow laborers he hoped to find in Arracan. At the expiration of this period, however, when his return was daily expected, a vessel from Chittagong arrived at Rangoon, bringing the distressing intelligence that neither he nor the vessel in which he had embarked had been heard of at that port. Similar tidings were also contained in letters which Mrs. Judson received from Bengal.

While the missionaries were in this state of fearful suspense, an incident occurred which was well calculated to increase the perplexity and dismay in which they were plunged. Mr. Hough, who had continued quietly studying the language at the mission house, was suddenly summoned to appear immediately at the court house, and it was rumored among the affrighted domestics and neighbors who followed the officers that came for Mr. Hough, that the king had issued a decree for the banishment of all the foreign teachers. It was late in the afternoon when he made his appearance before the despotic tribunal that was charged with the execution of the imperial decree, and he was merely required to give security for his appearance the following morning; when, as the unfeeling magistrates declared, "if he did not tell all the truth relative to his situation in the country, they would write with his heart's blood." Mr. Hough was detained from day to day on the most flimsy pretences, himself unable to speak the language, and with no one near him who would attempt to explain his situation or vindicate his objects and his conduct. The viceroy whom Mr. and Mrs. Judson had known, had recently

been recalled to Ava, and he who now held the reins of the government was a stranger, and, as his family were not with him, Mrs. Judson, according to the etiquette of the court, could not be admitted to his presence. The order which had led to the arrest was found to relate to some Portuguese priests whom the king had banished, and Mr. Hough was at first summoned to give assurance that he was not one of the number, and then detained by the officers in order to extort money for his ransom. He was at length released by order of the viceroy, to whom Mrs. Judson boldly carried the cause and presented a petition which she had caused her teacher to draw up for the purpose.

The anxiety occasioned by this arrest and its train of petty annoyances, and still more by the protracted and mysterious absence of Mr. Judson, was at this time greatly increased by rumors which reached Rangoon, of an impending war between the English and the Burman governments. There were but few English vessels lying in the river, and the English traders who were in the country were closing their business and preparing to hasten away, at any new indications of hostilities that should be presented. The condition of the missionaries was rendered still more distressing by the ravages of the cholera, which now, for the first time, made its appearance in Burmah, and was sending its terrors throughout the empire. The poor people of Rangoon fell in hundreds before its frightful progress. The dismal death-drum continually gave forth its warning sound as new names were added to the melancholy list of victims to the desolating malady. In these gloomy circumstances, they saw ship after ship leave the river, bearing away all the foreigners who were in the province, until at length the only one remaining was on the eve of sailing. Harassed with doubts concerning the uncertain fate of Mr. Judson, and surrounded with perils, they saw before them what appeared the last opportunity of leaving the country, before the threatened hostilities should begin, and they should be exposed to all the merciless cruelties of barbarian warfare.

Mr. and Mrs. Hough decided to go on board and escape to

Bengal, while escape was still in their power, and they urged Mrs. Judson to accompany them. She at length reluctantly yielded to their advice, and with a heart burdened with sorrows she embarked with her companions, on the 5th of July, in the only ship that remained to carry them from the country. The ship, however, was delayed for several days in the river, and was likely to be subjected to still further detention. Mrs. Judson, who had gone on board rather in obedience to the entreaties of her associates, and the dictates of prudence, than from the suggestions of that truer instinct which often serves to guide the noblest natures in great emergencies, now decided to leave the ship and return alone to the mission house, there to await either the return of her husband, or the confirmation of her worst fears respecting his fate. It was a noble exhibition of heroic courage, and gave assurance of all the distinguished qualities which, at a later period and amid dangers still more appalling, shone with unfailing brightness around the character of this remarkable woman. The event justified her determination; and, within a week after her decision was taken, Mr. Judson arrived at Rangoon, having been driven from place to place by contrary winds, and having entirely failed of the object for which he undertook the voyage. Mr. and Mrs. Hough, however, after long delays, again embarked and proceeded to Bengal, taking with them the press and all the implements of the printing house. Their removal was subsequently productive of many embarrassments to the mission, and seems never to have been fully justified either by Mr. Judson or by the Board of Managers in America.

In this broken and well-nigh ruined state of the mission, when its members were about to be separated from each other, and its prospects were darkened with clouds, Mr. and Mrs. Judson were cheered and encouraged by the arrival of Messrs. Colman and Wheelock and their wives, who in the year preceding had been appointed by the Board, missionaries to Burmah. They arrived at Rangoon in September, 1818, after having been detained several months at Calcutta, in waiting for

a passage. They were both young, the former being at the age of twenty years, and the latter of twenty-three—of suitable education and approved piety and zeal; and their arrival was hailed as the assurance of new prosperity to the mission. The hopes, however, which were thus excited, were doomed soon to be disappointed, for they had scarcely arrived at the post to which they were destined, when it became evident that the health and constitution of neither would be able to endure the assiduous study and toil which belong to the life of a missionary in the East, and they soon began to give unequivocal indications that a fatal disease was already preying upon their frames. At the end of a year, before he had acquired the language of the country, Mr. Wheelock embarked for Bengal, in the last stages of consumption, with no other prospect before him than that of speedy death. While on the passage, he was seized with a violent fever, accompanied with delirium, and in one of its paroxysms he threw himself from the window of his cabin into the sea, and was drowned. Mr. Colman, though oppressed with feeble health, still remained with Mr. Judson at Rangoon, determined to share with him the changeful and uncertain fortunes of the mission, to whatever results it might please Heaven to conduct them.

At the period at which these missionaries arrived at the place of their destination, the mission had been established nearly five years. Amidst many difficulties, its founders had acquired the language of the country, and by means of conversation with the people around them, and the circulation of printed tracts and the Gospel of Matthew, they had made their objects and character as teachers of religion familiarly known far beyond the limits of Rangoon. Hitherto, however, the labors of the missionaries had been comparatively private. A few Burmans had been accustomed to visit them at their own dwelling to converse with them, and receive the tracts which they kept for distribution. No place for public worship or religious teachings had yet been built, and no public labors had been undertaken. So numerous was now their little band, in consequence

of the recent accession, that it was determined immediately to erect a zayat, in some spot less retired than the mission house, that would secure for them the attention of the people. A site was accordingly selected just without the limits of the town, on the great Pagoda road, which derived its name from being lined on either side with places of Burman worship. In April, 1819, the zayat was completed and opened for the sacred purpose to which it was dedicated. It was a small, low building, of humble pretensions in comparison with any one of the throng of pagodas by which it was surrounded, yet it was well suited to the purpose for which it was erected, and seemed an appropriate emblem of Christianity standing amidst the magnificent temples of heathenism.

The opening of the zayat was an event of no common importance in the history of the mission, and was regarded by the missionaries with the deepest interest. "Centuries had rolled away, millions of Burmans had been ushered into eternity, and God, the Creator of the universe, had never before seen an altar erected for Himself; had never before heard the voice of prayer and praise ascend in the Burman language." This consideration gave a sacred grandeur to the humble building, and filled the mind with the liveliest hopes that it would ere long become the scene of new triumphs of Christian truth. Here Mr. Judson, in the presence of a small congregation of wondering heathen, commenced the public worship of God in the Burman language, and soon began to witness those results which were early promised to all those who should faithfully preach the gospel of Christ to their perishing fellow-men.

It was on the 30th of April, 1819, a few days after the opening of the zayat, that Mr. Judson was visited by a man who came to inquire about the new religion with a spirit very different from that which he had usually witnessed among the Burmans. His visits were frequently repeated, and he soon began to express sentiments of repentance for his sins and faith in the Saviour of sinners, and to evince those deep and earnest moral feelings which, alike in every land and through all ages,

attend the conversion of a human soul to God. Other instances of serious attention to the teachings of the zayat soon began to present themselves. It was evident that the seed which had been sown was already springing up, and giving promise of its wonted and unfailing fruit. The new convert, after being faithfully examined by the missionaries, was baptized by Mr. Judson in a small pond near the mission house, and was received into the church on the 27th of June, 1819. The name of this earliest Burman disciple was MOUNG NAU. He became a valuable assistant to Mr. Judson, and, through all the trials and perils to which the mission was afterwards exposed, he continued a faithful soldier and servant of Jesus Christ unto the end. On the 7th of November, in the same year, two others were baptized in like manner, and admitted to membership in the church. It was at sunset that the solemn and significant rite was administered, in the waters of the same pond which had before been made sacred by the baptism of MOUNG NAU. "The sun," says Mr. Judson, "was not allowed to look upon the humble, timid profession. No wondering crowd crowned the overshadowing hill. No hymn of praise expressed the exultant feelings of joyous hearts. Stillness and solemnity pervaded the scene. We felt, on the banks of the water, as a little, feeble, solitary band. But, perhaps, some hovering angels took note of the event, with more interest than they witnessed the late coronation; perhaps Jesus looked down on us, pitied and forgave our weaknesses, and marked us for His own; perhaps, if we deny Him not, He will acknowledge us another day, more publicly than we venture, at present, to acknowledge Him."

Among the visitors who had long frequented the zayat to receive the instruction of the missionaries, and to engage in discussion with them concerning the doctrines they taught, was a man of superior education, a teacher of science, and a person of considerable distinction. His name was MOUNG SHWA-GNONG. He was a Buddhist, but had received, in former years, some vague ideas of spiritual truth, which were now struggling with the dogmas of Buddhism in which he had been educated. He

was attracted to the zayat by the fame of the new teachers, and by the reports which had gone abroad respecting their strange doctrines. His frequent visits soon attracted the attention of the priests, or of the officers of the viceroy, who mentioned him to their master. The viceroy gave no decisive answer, but told them "to inquire further about him." This order was reported to Moung Shwa-Gnong, and caused an immediate decline of his interest in religion, and a suspension of his visits at the zayat. Others, also, who had been in the habit of attending the instructions of the missionaries, fell off at the same time, and from the same cause; so that, at the end of a few weeks, Mr. Judson would sit whole days in the verandah of the zayat, without receiving a single visiter; and that, too, in the pleasant season of autumn, while the road was crowded with passers-by, going to or from the great pagoda to which it led.

This single incident, though seemingly unimportant in itself, served to assure the missionaries that the least opposition which the government should make might at any time blast all their prospects, and ruin all their plans; and it forced upon them the conclusion that, so soon as their success should become sufficiently important to attract particular attention, they would be subjected to persecution, and, perhaps, to banishment from the country. They accordingly decided to go without delay to the capital of the empire, and make known their objects to the emperor himself, and solicit his favor, or at least his toleration for the new religion. If this were granted, they would be able to prosecute their pious work without fear of molestation; but if it were denied, no future missionary attempts could be undertaken with any hope of success.

Accordingly, on the 22d of December, 1819, Messrs. Judson and Colman, now the only remaining missionaries at Rangoon, embarked in a small boat of ten oars, to ascend the Irrawaddy, to Amarapura,* at that time the capital of the empire, in order

* This place was subsequently abandoned, and the government established at Ava, a large city seven miles below. The residence of the king, however, is now at Amarapura.

to *prostrate themselves at the golden feet*, as a visit to the emperor was called. They left their families at Rangoon, but took with them the faithful Mounge Nau, as an attendant in their perilous passage. They were at a loss what to select for the present which custom required that they should offer to the emperor, but at length decided on a copy of the Bible, elegantly bound in six volumes, and covered with gold leaf, and enclosed in a richly ornamented wrapper. For the inferior members of the government, they took pieces of fine cloth and other similar articles, which were suited to the taste of orientals. The capital was three hundred and fifty miles from Rangoon, and the banks of the Irrawaddy were infested with robbers, who almost nightly committed depredations on the boats that were passing along the river, and often murdered their passengers. The missionaries, however, were protected from harm by the great Being in whom they trusted, and after a passage of more than thirty days they arrived safely at the proud capital of the Burman empire, the seat of the imperious monarch whose favor they had come to propitiate.

CHAPTER VI.

THEIR Introduction at the Burman Court. — Their Petition refused. — They return to Rangoon. — Mr. and Mrs. Colman go to Chittagong. — Death of Mr. Colman. — Converts at Rangoon. — Mr. and Mrs. Judson visit Calcutta. — Progress of the Mission at Rangoon.

On the day following their arrival at the Burman capital, they presented themselves at the house of Mya-day-men, the former viceroy of Rangoon, whom they had known, and whose wife had shown much kindness to Mrs. Judson. He was now attached to the imperial government, in the capacity of woongyee, or one of the public ministers of the state. By him and by his wife they were kindly received, and were promised such aid as they desired in obtaining an audience of the monarch. Mya-day-men commanded one of the officers about him to conduct the missionaries to Moungh Zah, one of the atwenwoons, or private ministers of state, — giving at the same time such explanations and orders as were necessary to secure the object they had in view. The ceremony of their introduction to the *golden face* took place on the third day after their arrival. They were first conducted by the officer to whose care they had been committed, to Moungh Zah, to whom, after they had propitiated him with suitable presents, they made known their real objects in coming to the capital, declared themselves to be missionaries or propagators of religion, and expressed a wish to present to the emperor a copy of their sacred books, and a petition for his royal approbation.

The manner of the minister was kind and familiar, but his words expressed great doubt of their success. They however followed his guidance, for it was announced that the *golden foot* was about to advance. The day was that on which was celebrated a recent brilliant victory of the Burman arms over the Cassays, and the emperor was about to inspect the troops

that were paraded in honor of the occasion. They entered a magnificent apartment of the royal palace, which looked out upon the extensive grounds on which the spectacle was to be exhibited. The grandeur of the hall, the height of the dome, and the number of the lofty pillars that supported it, all covered with burnished gold, presented a gorgeous display of oriental magnificence. Here the missionaries were placed, among the company of officers of state who were waiting the appearance of the monarch. As they looked through the hall, when his approach was announced, they soon caught sight of the "sovereign of land and sea." The scene is well described by the graphic pen of Mr. Judson. "He came forward, unattended, in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait and majesty of an Eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand the gold-sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye that chiefly riveted our attention. He strided on. Every head, excepting ours, was in the dust. We remained kneeling, our hands folded, our eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, we caught his attention. He stopped, partly turned towards us, and said — 'Who are these?' 'The teachers, great king,' I replied. 'What, you speak Burman? — the priests that I heard of last night?' 'When did you arrive?' 'Are you teachers of religion?' 'Are you like the Portuguese priests?' 'Are you married?' 'Why do you dress so?' These and some other similar questions we answered, when he appeared to be pleased with us, and sat down on an elevated seat, his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on us. Moungh Zah now began to read the petition, and it ran thus: —

"The American teachers present themselves to receive the favor of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions, and having obtained leave of the governor of that town to come up and

Behold the golden face, we have ascended and reached the bottom of the golden feet. In the great country of America, we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred Scriptures of our religion. And since it is contained in those Scriptures, that, if we pass to other countries and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion, will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy, without decay or death, the eternal felicity of heaven, — we ask that royal permission be given, that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching and wish to listen to and be guided by it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from government molestation. We present ourselves to receive the favor of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea.'

"The emperor heard this petition, and stretched out his hand. Moungh Zah crawled forward and presented it. His majesty began at the top and deliberately read it through. In the mean time, I gave Moungh Zah an abridged copy of the tract, in which every offensive sentence was corrected, and the whole put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the emperor had perused the petition, he handed it back without saying a word, and took the tract. Our hearts now rose to God for a display of his grace. 'O, have mercy on Burmah! Have mercy on her king!' But alas! the time was not yet come. He held the tract long enough to read the first two sentences, which assert that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that besides Him there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, perhaps disdain, he dashed it down to the ground! Moungh Zah stooped forward, picked it up and handed it to us. Moungh Yo made a slight attempt to save us, by unfolding one of the volumes which composed our present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice of it. Our fate was decided. After a few moments, Moungh Zah interpreted his royal master's will, in the following terms: 'In regard to the objects of your petition,

his majesty gives no order. In regard to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them,—take them away.’

“Something was now said about brother Colman’s skill in medicine; upon which the emperor once more opened his mouth and said: ‘Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest; let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly.’ He then rose from his seat, strided to the other end of the hall, and there, after having dashed to the ground the first intelligence he had ever received of the Eternal God, his Maker, his Preserver, his Judge, he threw himself down on a cushion, and lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him.”

After a repulse so decisive they were hurried from the palace with but little ceremony. Their rejection was soon known to every sycophant of the court, from the highest minister down to the humblest menial of the palace; and they passed out of the gates with less difficulty than they entered, and were conducted to the residence of the Portuguese priest, to whom the emperor had ordered them to be carried. He speedily discovered that they were in possession of no secret art which would secure to the emperor perpetual life or freedom from disease, and he summarily dismissed them, without any proposal that they should be attached to the corps of his majesty’s medical advisers. On the following day they made some further efforts to accomplish their object, but they were all in vain. The policy of the Burman government was not to be changed so as to admit toleration of any foreign religion, and the missionaries soon discovered that in presenting a petition to that effect they had been guilty of an egregious blunder, an unpardonable offence. With their hopes thus cruelly blighted, and their spirits dejected at the darkened prospects of the mission, they betook themselves to their boat, and made preparations for returning immediately to Rangoon, more deeply impressed than ever before with the conviction that they could expect no aid or countenance for their holy enterprise, save from Heaven alone.

Their passage down the river was easy and rapid, but the scenery along the banks was shaded with the hues of their own sombre spirits. At Pyee, one of the towns at which they stopped for the night, they met the teacher Moungh Shwa-Gnong, who had come up two hundred and seventy miles from Rangoon to visit a friend who was sick. They narrated to him their adventures at the capital, and the peremptory repulse which they had received from the emperor, and made known their views of the danger that would attend any further propagating or professing the religion of Christ. He, however, manifested no such alarm or dismay as they had anticipated; but, on the contrary, repeated, with a firm voice and with considerable emphasis, the principal articles of the Christian faith. He told them of the progress he had made in the understanding of Christianity since he saw them last; that he had endeavored to renounce his own understanding, and trust in the Divine Word; that he had ceased to worship at the pagodas, though he sometimes visited them with the crowd to avoid persecution. "Now," said he, "you say that I am not a disciple, — what lack I yet?" To the questions of this speculative teacher they gave such replies as were suited to his state of mind; and informed him that they would probably leave Rangoon, since, now that the emperor had refused to tolerate Christianity, no Burman would dare to investigate, much less to embrace it. To this he replied, with great appearance of interest, "Say not so; there are some who will investigate, notwithstanding; and, rather than have you quit Rangoon, I will go to the Mangen teacher and have a public dispute. I know I can silence him. I know the truth is on my side."

On the 18th of February, after a passage of twenty days, they arrived at Rangoon. They immediately called together the three disciples, who, with themselves, composed the little Burman church, and disclosed the melancholy result of their visit to the capital, and the injurious influence which they apprehended it would exert upon the future prosecution of the mission. They anticipated that the disciples would be intimidated by these

tidings of the emperor's refusal to tolerate Christianity, and imagined that if one out of the three remained firm, it would be as much as they could reasonably expect. But what were their surprise and delight to find that they all remained unmoved, or rather that their faith and zeal were strengthened and increased, instead of being diminished by the intelligence. It was evident that the new affections which had sprung up in the hearts of these poor children of superstition were no ephemeral plants, but germs of true Christian character which had been nurtured by God's own Spirit. The missionaries had formed the design of immediately abandoning the mission at Rangoon, and leaving the empire for some country, where their objects would be regarded with more favor by the government, or where the people would be less dependent on the monarch's favor than was the case in Burmah. The district which they had selected was that lying between Bengal and Arracan, inhabited chiefly by Arracanese, but under the government of Bengal. This tract of country contains about 1,200,000 of inhabitants, who speak a language similar to the Burman. Its chief town is Chittagong, where a missionary from Bengal had formerly resided, and baptized several converts to the Christian faith.

No sooner, however, was this design of leaving Rangoon made known by the missionaries to the Burman converts and inquirers, than they commenced the most earnest entreaties that the mission might not be abandoned. Two of the converts protested that if the missionaries went away, they would go with them, while the third, who had a wife and family, declared that, though he could not go with the teachers, yet, if he must be left alone, he would remain "performing the duties of Jesus Christ's religion;" no other would he think of. Some of the inquirers expressed the utmost desire that they would not leave them, or at least, that they would stay till there were eight or ten disciples,—for, said they, the religion will spread; the emperor himself cannot stop it. Such manifestations of interest in the mission, on the part of these simple but earnest-minded disciples and inquirers, could not fail to make the missionaries hesitate

in the execution of their design to leave Rangoon, and they were induced by the entreaties which were addressed to them from those who had attended their teachings, to reconsider, and at length to modify their plans. It was finally determined that Mr. and Mrs. Judson should remain at Rangoon, but that Mr. and Mrs. Colman should remove to Chittagong, and establish a station there, to which the other missionaries and the converts might repair, in case any storm of persecution should drive them from Burmah. In accordance with this arrangement, Mr. and Mrs. Colman embarked for Bengal in March, 1820, and thence proceeded to Chittagong, where they arrived in the following June. Here, amid the Mahomedans and Buddhists who inhabit the country, they hoped to gather again the scattered converts whom the English missionaries had left, and, beneath such protection as they could receive from the East India Company, to acquire the language, and proclaim the truths of the gospel to the people.

Immediately on their arrival they erected a dwelling, and commenced such missionary labors as their acquaintance with the language enabled them to perform. Mr. Colman was soon visited by several of the native converts, and among them, by Keepong, their most influential man and teacher. They were overjoyed at finding a Christian teacher with whom they could converse, and they eagerly solicited Mr. Colman to remain among them and instruct them in the way of life more perfectly; for both they and their countrymen were in great need of instruction, and their children, whom they would not intrust to Buddhist teachers, were growing up in ignorance of letters and of religion. He accompanied some of the converts to the villages in which they dwelt, and listened to the sermon of their teacher Keepong; but, though he observed among them many interesting features of Christian character, he was every where pained at perceiving that the doctrines of Christ were mingled with the dogmas of Buddhism, and that not a few of the converts were still clinging to the belief that annihilation was the perfect state to which the gospel was intended to introduce the soul.

In their petitions, he would often hear them pray that they might attain to annihilation, and in their conversations they would speak of it as the highest good which God could confer. For the purpose of being more intimately connected with these poor Arracanese and their countrymen, Mr. Colman decided to remove from Chittagong, where he had received permission of the East India Company to reside, and to take up his abode at some one of the villages of Arracan, on the confines of the Burman empire, where the native converts principally dwelt. He accordingly selected Cox's Bazaar, a town of nearly twenty thousand people, but distinguished for the unhealthiness of its climate. He had been settled here but a few months, and was just beginning publicly to preach the gospel, when, in the midst of the unhealthy season, he was seized with the jungle fever, and fell a martyr to his zeal, on the 4th of July, 1822. In the death of this ardent and noble-hearted young missionary the Burman Mission sustained a severe loss. It was his aim to reëstablish the broken and scattered church of Arracanese which had been formed by the English missionaries with but little acquaintance with the language, and but little ability to instruct the natives, and to plant a mission on the confines of the Burman empire, which might also serve as a place of refuge to our missionaries whenever persecution or war should endanger their situation at Rangoon. These generous and important plans were frustrated by his death, and all thought of having an outstation, such as he had designed to form, was entirely abandoned. Mrs. Colman returned to Bengal, where she entered into the service of the missions as a teacher of female children. She was subsequently married to the Rev. Amos Sutton, the well-known and justly-esteemed missionary of the English Baptists at Orissa, in Hindostan, where she has prosecuted, for many years, the self-sacrificing labors to which in early youth she dedicated her life.

Immediately after the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Colman from Rangoon, Mr. and Mrs. Judson, now the solitary occupants of the mission house, had the satisfaction to perceive that the

little circle of inquirers was gradually increasing, and that the spirit of those who came to be instructed was becoming more earnest and sincere, while the native Christians themselves were evidently growing in the knowledge and faith of the gospel. They entreated them to abandon the thought of leaving Rangoon, and seemed to feel assured that Heaven was about to bestow new blessings on their benighted countrymen. In the course of a few months after his return from the unsuccessful mission to the capital of the empire, Mr. Judson baptized seven additional converts, among whom was the speculative and timid teacher Moungh Shwa-Gnong, now thoroughly instructed in the Christian faith, and embracing it with the fullest convictions of a discriminating and educated mind. In striking contrast with this long-inquiring and hesitating convert was another, Moungh Shwa-ba, who, though of inferior education, was yet marked by a fearless decision of character, which led him in a few days to the adoption of the faith which the educated teacher was engaged for many months in preparing to receive. In these new converts, who were now so decided in casting off the superstitions of Gaudama, and in receiving the gospel, Mr. Judson recognized the proofs of Heaven's favor to the mission, and the fruits of many years of labor, and of many prayers which Christians in distant climes had mingled with his own, that God would bestow his blessing upon the Burmans. He was now bound to Rangoon by new ties, the sympathies of Christian hearts, and the warm affections of those who regarded him as their spiritual father and friend, their guide to the kingdom of Heaven.

When we consider that the refusal of the emperor to tolerate Christianity among his subjects was well known both at Ava and at Rangoon, we may form some conception of the circumstances in which the little company of Burman Christians were placed, and appreciate the firm trust in God by which they were made willing, in the face of an oriental despotism, to renounce the religion of Buddh, and profess the forbidden and proscribed faith of the gospel. The humble church was en-

vironed with innumerable dangers; for each one of its members had adopted the new religion at the peril of his life. It owed its safety in part, no doubt, to its obscurity and the smallness of its numbers, and perhaps not less to the caution and watchfulness with which its ordinances were performed and its affairs administered.

Amidst these encouraging indications of Heaven's favor to the mission, it became evident that the health of Mrs. Judson was seriously undermined by the pernicious influences of the climate. Her strength was already so far reduced by insidious disease as to require immediate attention and medical advice superior to that which Rangoon could afford. She made arrangements for embarking without delay for Bengal, and as she was now too ill to go alone, as she at first intended, Mr. Judson prepared to accompany her. They took passage on the 19th of July, 1820, for Calcutta, where they arrived on the 8th of August, after a pleasant voyage, during which, however, the health of Mrs. Judson experienced no perceptible benefit. She was soon removed to the purer atmosphere and the more congenial society of Serampore. Here she was attended by physicians of eminent skill, but for a long time without any favorable change; until, so important was the presence of Mr. Judson at Rangoon, he was about to leave her with her friends of the English Mission and return alone to the post of his missionary duty. It pleased Heaven, however, soon to open to her the prospect of returning health; and it being no longer deemed indispensable that she should remain in Bengal, she decided to hasten back with her husband. They arrived at Rangoon on the 5th of January, 1821, after an absence of nearly six months, and were welcomed by the disciples and friends whom they had left, with the warmest and most affectionate greeting. The little flock, though so long deprived of the shepherd's care, and to some extent scattered by the extortions of the petty tyrants of the government by whom they were surrounded, had remained unharmed amidst their foes. Not one had dishonored his profession or proved recreant to the principles which he had em-

braced ; and, as Mr. Judson on the day of his arrival joined with them in their evening devotion at the mission house, the hearts of all were alike subdued by one common sentiment of gratitude and praise.

The missionaries were now quietly settled on the spot which they had long since learned to call their home. The instructions of the zayat and the translation of the Scriptures were all resumed, and the mission began again silently to put forth its influence upon the Burmans who came to inquire of Mr. Judson concerning the Eternal God whose existence and government he proclaimed, and the immortal life of the soul which he taught was the great object of religion to secure. In the work of translating the Scriptures, he employed the assistance of Moungh Shwa-Gnong, and in other parts of his missionary labors he was aided by Moungh Shwa-ba, both of whom proved themselves to be most valuable helpers, and furnished a striking illustration of the superior advantage which persons of cultivated intellect always possess over rude and unlettered men. Myadaya-men, the former viceroy of Rangoon, who had befriended Messrs. Judson and Colman in their visit to the capital, was now viceroy for the second time, and, beneath his mild and somewhat tolerant government, the complaints which were made against the Christians were but little regarded ; three new converts were successively added to the church, and the sacred Scriptures were slowly and constantly preparing, to be read in the Burman tongue by the people of the whole empire.

CHAPTER VII.

MRS. JUDSON'S Visit to the United States in 1822.—Her History of the Mission.—Arrival of Dr. Price at Rangoon.—Messrs. Judson and Price go to Ava.—Interview with the King.—A Branch of the Mission established at Ava.—Arrival of Mrs. Judson and Mr. and Mrs. Wade at Rangoon.—Messrs. Hough and Wade at Rangoon.—Messrs. Judson and Price at Ava.—Removal of the Government to Amarapura.

THE mission had gone on thus prosperously for several months after the return of the missionaries from Bengal, when Mrs. Judson was again afflicted with that distressing malady, the chronic liver complaint, which had never been entirely eradicated from her constitution. All hope of her recovery while she should remain in a tropical climate seemed now to be at an end; and it was decided that she should take passage to the United States, and try the efficacy of the air and scenery of her native land, and the cheerful sympathies of the friends and kindred from whom she had been so long separated. On the 21st of August, 1821, she embarked for Calcutta, intending to take passage thence directly to this country. The feelings with which she parted from those whom she left behind may be well imagined, and they are briefly chronicled in her own eloquent journal. Rangoon had become to her the home of her affections as well as the place of her residence, and as she saw its glittering pagodas fading in the distance, and thought of her own declining health, of the dangers of the voyage, and the uncertainties which still lowered like threatening clouds around the prospects of the mission, she might naturally apprehend that she was gazing for the last time on the spot where were garnered up her richest earthly hopes.

On arriving at Calcutta she found no vessel in which she could embark for America and after considerable delay, in accordance with the desire of her friends, she took a cabin which was gratuitously offered her in a ship bound to England. On

arriving at Liverpool, her health, though decidedly improved since leaving Rangoon, was yet far from being reëstablished. In London she was received into the hospitable family of Mr. Joseph Butterworth, a member of the Methodist persuasion, and a gentleman of high public standing and of the greatest excellence of character, where she made the acquaintance of several of the distinguished philanthropists and statesmen of the day. In the agreeable Christian society to which she was thus introduced, and in travelling to Scotland, and visiting the mineral springs at Cheltenham, Mrs. Judson spent several months in England, every where vindicating the character and objects of the Christian missionary, and commending them to the respect and admiration of mankind.

In August, 1822, she took leave of her British friends, to whom she had become warmly endeared, and embarked on board the ship *Amity* for New York, where she arrived on the 25th of the following September. The visit of Mrs. Judson to the United States forms an epoch of no inconsiderable importance in the progress of interest in missions, among the churches of various denominations in this country. She visited several of the leading cities of the Union; met a large number of associations of ladies; attended the session of the Triennial Convention at Washington; and, in a multitude of social circles, alike in the South and the North, recited the thrilling narrative of what she had seen and experienced during the eventful years in which she had dwelt in a heathen land. But relaxation and travelling for health, and interviews with religious friends, were not her only occupation. In her retirement, in addition to maintaining an extensive correspondence, she found time to prepare the history of the mission in Burmah, which was published in her name, in a series of letters addressed to Mr. Butterworth, the gentleman beneath whose roof she had been a guest during her residence in England. These records, which were principally compiled from documents which had been published before, contained the first continuous account of the Burman Mission ever given to the public. The

work was widely read both in England and America, and received the favorable notice of several of the leading organs of public criticism.*

The influence which Mrs. Judson exerted in favor of the cause of missions during her brief residence of eight or nine months in the United States, it is now hardly possible to estimate. She enlisted more fully in the cause not a few leading minds, who have since rendered it signal service both by eloquent vindications and by judicious counsels; and by the appeals which she addressed to Christians of her own sex, and her fervid conversations with persons of all classes and denominations in America, as well as by the views which she submitted to the managers of the mission, a new zeal for its prosecution was every where created, and the missionary enterprise, instead of being regarded with doubt and misgiving, as it had been by many even among Christians, began to be understood in its higher relations to all the hopes of man, and to be contemplated in its true grandeur and its ennobling moral dignity.

In the spring of 1823, the health of Mrs. Judson, though but partially restored, was yet so far established, as, in her own judgment, to admit of her returning to Rangoon. Accordingly, though quite contrary to the advice, and even the urgent solicitations of her friends, she prepared again to take leave of her native land and hasten back to the distant shore which she had so reluctantly left. At the meeting of the Convention, in May of that year, Mr. Jonathan Wade of New York, and Mr. George D. Boardman, then a tutor in Waterville College, Maine, had offered themselves as missionaries to the East. Mr. Wade was soon after regularly appointed by the Board, and with his wife was directed to take passage for Calcutta in the ship with Mrs. Judson. They sailed from Boston on the 22d of June, amidst the most affecting demonstrations of personal affection and of Christian sympathy. They bore with them a letter to the emperor of Burmah, and a valuable present from the Conven

* See an article in the London Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXIII.

tion, such as was thought to be fitted to excite the interest of his Burman majesty and to conciliate his favor towards the missionaries. They arrived at Calcutta in the following October, and at Rangoon on the 5th of December. Thus, after an absence of two years and three months, was Mrs. Judson restored to her husband and to the mission, with health and spirits reinvigorated, with a reinforcement of additional fellow-laborers, and with the happy consciousness that she had been enabled to awaken a deeper interest for the heathen in the minds of multitudes of Christians both in England and America.

From this brief episode in our narrative, let us return and trace the fortunes of the mission at Rangoon, during the absence of Mrs. Judson in America. They had been marked, as will appear, by events of unusual interest and importance.

In the autumn of 1821, while Mr. Judson was prosecuting the labors of the mission alone, a complaint was brought to the viceroy against the teacher Mounng Shwa-Gnong, by several of the leading men of the village to which he belonged, who had conspired against him, for being an avowed enemy of Buddhism. So determined were his enemies, that he deemed it prudent to withdraw himself for a time from Rangoon, especially as the viceroy had declared that, if the complaints were true, he was worthy of death. The priests and officers of the government were also excited to new vigilance with respect to the Burman converts, and Mr. Judson found himself soon obliged to close the *zayat*, and to suspend his public preaching on the Sabbath. The native Christians came privately to the mission house for instruction and sympathy, but the inquirers withdrew altogether. Soon after these events, and before the mission had recovered from their injurious influence, the solitary condition of Mr. Judson was relieved by the arrival of Rev. Jonathan Price, M.D. and Mrs. Price, who had been appointed missionaries to Burmah in May, 1821, and soon after sailed for Calcutta. They reached Rangoon, December 13th, of the same year, and in the course of the following month Mr. and Mrs. Hough also returned from Serampore, bringing with them

the printing press, whose absence had occasioned no small delay and inconvenience to the labors of Mr. Judson.

Thus reinforced by the arrival of additional missionaries, and encouraged by the cessation of opposition, and by the return of the native converts bringing with them new inquirers, Mr. Judson again opened the zayat and resumed his public teachings. He soon had the happiness of baptizing several more native converts on the profession of their faith, who made the native members of the church seventeen, besides one who had died. The fact that Dr. Price was a physician and possessed of medical skill being reported to the golden ears, he was soon summoned to Ava by order of the king. It was of course necessary that Mr. Judson should accompany him, as he was yet ignorant alike of the language of the country and the customs of the court. Mr. Judson also hoped to make this summons to the capital an occasion of introducing the new religion again to the notice of the monarch and his courtiers. Accordingly the work of translation, which had lately been prosecuted with great assiduity, was reluctantly abandoned, and on the 28th of August the missionaries embarked for Ava, where they arrived after a month's passage up the Irrawaddy, and presented themselves at the palace of the king.

At the first interview his majesty inquired particularly of Dr. Price concerning his medical skill, but took no notice of Mr. Judson. He was, however, recognized by the minister, Moungh Zah, whom he had known on his former visit to the capital, and by him was privately encouraged to remain at Ava. At subsequent visits to the palace, however, the attention of the king was attracted to Mr. Judson, and he put many curious questions respecting his character and his labors at Rangoon. On his first noticing him, after having conversed with Dr. Price, he entered into the following conversation: "And you in black, what are you?—a medical man too?" "Not a medical man, but a teacher of religion, your majesty." After making several inquiries about the new religion, "he then," says Mr. Judson, "put the alarming question whether any had embraced

it. I evaded by saying, 'Not here.' He persisted, 'Are there any in Rangoon?' 'There are a few.' 'Are they foreigners?' I trembled for the consequence of an answer which might involve the little church in ruin; but the truth must be sacrificed or the consequences hazarded. I therefore replied, 'There are some foreigners, and some Burmans.' He remained silent for a few moments, but presently showed that he was not displeased, by asking a great variety of questions on religion and geography and astronomy, some of which were answered in such a satisfactory manner as to occasion a general expression of approbation in all the court present." On another occasion the king again inquired about the Burmans who had embraced the Christian religion. "Are they real Burmans? Do they dress like other Burmans?" "I had occasion to remark," says Mr. Judson, "that I preached every Sunday. 'What! in Burman?' 'Yes.' 'Let us hear how you preach!' I hesitated. An atwenwoon repeated the order. I began with a form of worship which first ascribes glory to God, and then declares the commands of the law and the gospel; after which, I stopped. 'Go on,' said another atwenwoon. The whole court was profoundly silent. I proceeded with a few sentences declarative of the perfections of God, when his majesty's curiosity was satisfied, and he interrupted me." In a subsequent conversation, after answering some questions of the king about Gaudama, one of the atwenwoons, who had not hitherto been friendly to Mr. Judson, expressed his approbation of what he had said, and proceeded to relate a conversation which he himself had held with the American teacher about God and Christ, and the doctrines of the gospel. Mounz Zah also, encouraged by the example of his associate, began to speak of God before his majesty, and said, "Nearly all the world, your majesty, believe in an eternal God; all except Burmah and Siam—these little spots!"

Mr. Judson also held frequent conversations with several of the princes and princesses of the court, who were members of the royal family, in the course of which they often gave him an

opportunity to speak of his religion,—to invite to it their personal attention, and also to invoke for it the toleration of the government. At length, after repeated applications and delays, he procured a lot of land, with the emperor's assent, situated on the bank of the river, just without the walls of the city, and built upon it a small house, — Dr. Price in the mean time having been quartered by the emperor in a house near the place. When Mr. Judson called on the proper officer for the purpose of paying for the land which he had purchased, the officer refused the money which was offered, saying: "Understand, teacher, that we do not give you the entire owning of this ground. We take no recompense, *lest it become American territory*. We give it to you for your present residence only, and when you go away we shall take it again." He was very particular in his wording of the writing of conveyance, and often called upon those around him to witness that the land did not become the property of the American teacher, evidently having in his mind an apprehension that if it should, the American government might at length establish its jurisdiction there, as the English had done in Bengal.

The missionaries had now spent several months at the Burman court. Dr. Price was in high favor with the monarch on account of his medical skill, while Mr. Judson had become familiarly acquainted with many of the high officers of the government, and had often been noticed with marked curiosity and attention by the emperor himself. It was now, however, no longer necessary that he should remain at the capital, and he began to make preparations for returning to Rangoon in order to meet Mrs. Judson, who might soon be expected back from America. In taking leave of the members of the government, he was invited by more than one of them to return to Ava and settle there, and Prince M., a half brother of the king, specially pressed him to hasten back, and bring with him all the Christian Scriptures, and translate them into Burman; "for," added he, "I wish to read them all." On going to take leave of the king, his majesty asked him why he wished to go away,

and expressed his fear that the other teacher, Dr. Price, would be lonely and unhappy. On being informed that he was going only for a short time to bring his wife, the female teacher, and his goods, the king looked at him and said, "Will you then come again? When you come again is it your intention to remain permanently, or will you go back and forth as foreigners commonly do?" And on being answered that he intended to remain permanently, his majesty expressed his approbation.

It was early in February, 1823, when Mr. Judson reached Rangoon, after a passage of seven days from Ava. He found that the little church had been again scattered by the extortions and persecutions of the government, under a new viceroy, who had succeeded the tolerant Mya-day-men. One of its members, a female of great excellence of character and of steadfast Christian faith, had died during his absence, and, save those in his own immediate employ, the others had all removed from Rangoon. Many of them, however, soon gathered around their teacher, and he immediately resumed such public labors as he deemed consistent with the safety of the mission, and devoted his time especially to completing the translation of the New Testament, and preparing an epitome of the Old Testament, which should contain a complete though brief summary of Scripture history from the Creation to the coming of Christ, together with an abstract of the leading prophecies relating to the Messiah. Both of them were completed during the following summer, and were received with the utmost eagerness by the native Christians, even before they could be printed by Mr. Hough, who had left a portion of the Burman types at Bengal. In this manner passed away the months at Rangoon till the arrival of Mrs. Judson and her fellow passengers, Mr. and Mrs. Wade, which took place, as we have already stated, in December, 1823.

In this new condition of the mission, it was arranged that Mr. Hough and Mr. Wade, with their families, should remain at Rangoon, and that Mr. and Mrs. Judson should proceed immediately to Ava, and attempt to form a station there, beneath the favorable auspices which seemed to be secured by the medical

reputation of Dr. Price. During the absence of Mr. Judson from Ava, the king had often spoken of him, and inquired why he delayed his return so long; and the queen had also expressed a strong desire to see Mrs. Judson in her foreign dress. Their passage up the Irrawaddy was tedious and uncomfortable, being six weeks in length. They would often leave their boat and walk along the banks of the river, through villages in which a foreign female was a sight never before beheld. They were followed by crowds who were eager to witness the unwonted spectacle, yet in no case did they receive the slightest insult or rudeness. On their arrival at the golden city, they were soon able to prepare for themselves a residence, and to commence their missionary labors beneath the very eye of the monarch. Mr. Judson preached on the Sabbath, and held worship in the Burman language every evening at his own house, while Mrs. Judson opened a school for the instruction of such Burman girls as she could induce to join it. The king and queen were at this time absent from the capital, and all foreigners were regarded with suspicion and treated with coolness by the ministers of state, on account of the war with the English government in India with which the country was now threatened. This, however, did not prevent some of their former friends from reviving their previous acquaintance with them, and Mrs. Judson, immediately on her arrival, was visited and welcomed to the capital by the lady of the former viceroy of Rangoon — now a widow, living in retirement from the court, having lost by the death of her husband all the power and rank she had before possessed.

In a few months after the return of the missionaries to Ava, the government was formally removed, with great pomp and ceremony, to that city. The king and the royal family, who for two years had been living at Ava, in order to superintend the erection of a new palace, about the time of Mr. Judson's return went back to Amarapura, for the purpose of making the transfer of the golden presence from one city to the other as striking and impressive as possible. The ceremonial was one of unusual

splendor and magnificence, and presented a scene well calculated to fill the imagination with the sublimest conceptions of oriental grandeur and wealth. There were the great officers of state, the woongyees and atwenwoons, in their robes of office, the saupwars of conquered provinces, with their troops of attendants, heroes who had been distinguished in the wars of the empire, and people of every degree, to the number of hundreds of thousands, who had assembled to do homage to the stern monarch of the land and sea, the master of life and death, and lord of the celestial elephant. Shouts and acclamations rent the air as the imperial retinue approached the gates of the Golden City. At the head of the procession, and the most conspicuous and beautiful object which it presented, came the white elephant, with his numerous suite, an object of Burman adoration, covered with jewels and ornaments of gold; next were seen the king and queen in plain attire, the only persons in all the throng who appeared unadorned; following these were the great councillors, both public and private, and the viceroys of provinces and cities, who had come with their retinues from the remotest confines of the empire to offer fealty to the monarch, and to swell the grandeur of the festival.

Amidst this splendid array of all the insignia of power and majesty, the king took possession of the new palace, and re-established the imperial government in its ancient seat at Ava. The missionaries, with a few European residents at the capital, gazed with wonder upon this unwonted display of grotesque magnificence, made to gratify the pride of the Burman monarch. They were not noticed by the royal pair, and, although Mr. Judson occasionally visited the palace, yet no inquiry was ever made for the female teacher whom the queen had formerly expressed her desire to see in her foreign dress. It was not long before an order was issued that no European should enter the palace, and in a few days afterwards the tidings of the approaching war, which had hitherto been brought only in uncertain rumors, were fully confirmed by intelligence that an English fleet had arrived in the river, and that Rangoon had already fallen into their hands.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR between the Burmans and the English. — Capture of Rangoon. — Perils of Messrs. Hough and Wade, and their Families. — Advance of the English towards Ava. — Imprisonment of the Missionaries there. — Their removal to Oung-pen-ja. — Their protracted sufferings. — Heroic Services of Mrs. Judson. — Liberation of the Missionaries. — Their Agency in Negotiations with the English. — Reception of Mr. and Mrs. Judson by Sir Archibald Campbell. — Their return to Rangoon. — The Mission removed to Amherst. — Mr. Judson joins the English Embassy to Ava. — Death of Mrs. Judson.

THE war which now broke out between the Burman government and that of the English in Bengal, forms an important era in the history of the mission. Its first effect was to put an end to the labors of the missionaries, and to involve them in unspeakable sufferings; yet, in accordance with a mysterious though beneficent law of human affairs, its ultimate issues have undoubtedly proved favorable, not only to the interests of our own particular mission, but also to the further extension of Christian civilization among the thickly-peopled countries of eastern India. The war had its origin in feuds which had long existed on the frontiers of Chittagong. They were such as commonly spring up along the borders of opposite and neighboring jurisdictions, but were rendered unusually violent among the Burmans by their jealousy of the wide extension of British power. Some criminals and disaffected persons had escaped from the Burman territory to that of Chittagong, where, as was alleged, they were protected by the English government. The king, exasperated by the troubles which he thus experienced, and counting on the rising of several of the neighboring provinces that wished to throw off the British yoke, raised an army of thirty thousand men, under Bandula, his greatest warrior, and was preparing to make war on the governor-general, whom he felt sure of bringing speedily to the terms he desired. In this state of affairs the English determined to anticipate the Burman invasion, and to avail themselves of the advantage of beginning the war, which it was thought could now no longer be averted.

On the 10th of May, 1824, the English transports suddenly appeared in Rangoon river and landed the forces of the governor-general, consisting of European troops and sepoy, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell. Rangoon fell an easy and almost unresisting prey to their attack, and the intelligence of its fall was the first intimation of the commencement of hostilities that reached the court at Ava. They were surprised but not alarmed. They regarded it as a sudden incursion which might easily be repelled, and were only apprehensive that the English would escape from the river before the war boats could reach them, and chastise them as they deserved. Army after army was raised and marched from the capital, with all the demonstrations of foolish confidence and absurd conceit which belong to the movements of barbarian warriors. One of the generals bore with him golden fetters, with which he was to chain the governor of India; and another was commissioned by persons connected with the government to bring them home some white strangers, to row their boats or to manage their horses—so confident were the officers of state of the triumph of the Burman arms.* The armies often fought bravely, and heroically vindicated the claim of their countrymen to be considered superior to the other races of India; but they were defeated in nearly every encounter in which they were engaged.

The English after the capture of Rangoon were at first greatly embarrassed by the incompleteness of their preparations for prosecuting the war, and suffered exceedingly from the want of suitable provisions, and from diseases incident to the season. After the lapse of nearly a year, during which they had been

*The Burmans at this time had never come into collision with the English, —they had the most extravagant ideas of their own invincibility, and imagined that none but inferior races, like the effeminate Hindoos, would ever remain subject to the British power. The king of Burmah is taught to consider himself the greatest potentate of the earth. He told Captain Canning, an English envoy to Ava in 1810, that if the king of Great Britain had but sent for his assistance in the war with Napoleon, he would very soon have placed all France at his disposal. The humiliation of this absurd national pride may have been one of the best results of the Burmese war.

often annoyed by Burman valor, the army proceeded up the Irrawaddy, and slowly but steadily pushed their advance towards the imperial capital. They stormed and captured town after town along the banks of the river, while Sir Archibald Campbell, at every step of their progress, offered proposals for peace, which were uniformly rejected with disdain by the Burman monarch. At Pagan, one of the oldest and most sacred cities of the empire, another numerous army was destroyed, and scarcely a stronghold now remained between the capital and the advancing columns of the triumphant English. The court and the city of Ava were in consternation at the approach of an enemy that had captured the strongest fortresses, and routed and slain the bravest and most renowned generals of the empire. The king now determined to accept the terms which the English general had often proposed, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Yandabo, the place at which the army was encamped. By the terms of this treaty the provinces of Arracan, Maulmain, Tavoy, and Mergui, together with a part of Martaban, were to be ceded to the English, and 5,000,000 of rupees* were to be paid by the Burmans towards defraying the expenses of the war. The treaty was signed on the 24th of February, 1826, and early in March, nearly two years after the commencement of hostilities, the English army was withdrawn from the advanced posts which it had occupied, and proceeded down the river to Rangoon.

From this brief outline of the public events of the Burman war, let us now turn to contemplate the changes which they wrought in the fortunes of the mission, and the scenes of suffering and peril into which they introduced the missionaries.

At the time when the sudden approach of the English fleet was reported at Rangoon, Messrs. Hough and Wade, with their families, were the occupants of the mission house at that station. In the universal consternation which was created by this intelligence, the government issued an order that all persons in Ran-

* More than \$2,400,000.

goon wearing a hat should be immediately arrested. Messrs. Hough and Wade were seized, with other European residents of the town, and hurried away to the prison, where they were chained together and placed in close confinement under the charge of armed keepers. On the following morning the fleet had arrived just below Rangoon, and the keepers were ordered to put them to death so soon as the first gun should be fired upon the town. But no sooner did the firing commence than, fortunately for the prisoners, the Burman guard, smitten with fear, hid themselves in a corner of the prison, and, as the shot fell thick and fast around them, they broke open the doors and precipitately fled. Soon, however, the firing from the ships ceased, and when the prisoners were hoping to hear the approach of the English to liberate them, the prison was entered by fifty Burmans, who stripped the wretched captives of most of their clothes, bound them tight with cords, and hurried them at the point of their spears to a place where criminals were tried and executed. Here their bodies were bent forward, and the executioner, who, with his spotted face, stood ready at hand, was ordered to behead them.

Mr. Hough, being the only one among them who was entirely familiar with the language, alone understood the order, and besought the yahwoon to stay the execution, and send him on board the frigate to entreat the English commander to cease firing upon the town. The petition was seconded by the linguists of the court, and the yahwoon assented, at the same time declaring that if the English fired again there should be no reprieve. Scarcely had he uttered this threat when several shot fell very near the place where they were assembled. The whole company, the yahwoon with the rest, fled as rapidly as possible, taking care however to drive the prisoners before them, the distance of a mile and a half from the town, where they halted, and the petition of Mr. Hough was renewed. He was at length sent on board the frigate that bore the English flag, amid the most fearful threatenings to himself and the others in case he should not succeed. The remaining prisoners were

confined in a strong building near the great pagoda, where they spent the night, loaded with irons, and in the utmost anxiety lest both they, and their families in Rangoon, might at any moment fall victims to the cruel vengeance of the Burman officers. On the following day, the third after their arrest, the English landed and liberated them from their painful and perilous confinement.

During this period of anxiety and alarm, the ladies of the mission, deprived of their protectors, though not placed under formal arrest, were exposed to the cruel persecutions of their enemies. Most of the Burman converts, on the arrest of the teachers, fled with their families to the jungle, but Moung Shwa-ba remained at the mission house till Mrs. Hough and Mrs. Wade were obliged to seek for safety in some less exposed situation. They disguised themselves as Burmans, and after being twice driven by a Portuguese priest from the doors of the chapel and the house in which they sought an asylum, they concealed themselves in a bamboo shed, where they remained in safety, though constantly sought for by the Burman rabble, and exposed to the cannon balls which were falling all around them, till they were rescued by the English officers and placed under the protection of their friends.

After the taking of Rangoon, the place was completely deserted by the Burmans; the market was destroyed, and suitable provisions could not be obtained at any price. The rainy season was just commencing, and a violent fever broke out among the troops, and, before they had advanced a step into the country, hurried thousands of them into the grave. It also attacked Mr. and Mrs. Wade, but in a less malignant form. So soon as they had sufficiently recovered from its power, they embarked with Mr. and Mrs. Hough for Calcutta, where they all remained during the continuance of the war, engaged in the study of the language and in the publication of a Burman dictionary, compiled from the collections of Burman words which had been made by Messrs. Judson and Colman, and by Dr Carey and his associates at Serampore.

The intelligence of the fall of Rangoon was communicated to the imperial court at Ava on the 23d of May, about two weeks after it had taken place. All was confusion and excitement at the capital. An army of ten thousand men was immediately raised and despatched to chastise the invaders and drive them from the country, and the government began to inquire into the cause of this so sudden arrival of the white strangers. The idea that there were spies in the country did not fail to suggest itself to the minds of the jealous Burman officers, and three English gentlemen, who were residents at the capital, were immediately placed under arrest. These gentlemen did not conceal the fact that they were aware of the intended invasion of the English, and they were accordingly detained in confinement, which was made more rigorous as the hostile army advanced further into the country. Long before the commencement of hostilities, the missionaries had taken pains to assure the Burman ministers of state that they were Americans, and not subjects of the English king, as they were very generally thought to be, in consequence of the identity of their language and modes of life.* But the Burmans either did not believe, or they refused to allow the discrimination, but visited upon them the full vengeance of their jealous and distrustful spirits. It was ascertained that one of the English gentlemen had an account with the missionaries, and was in the habit of paying them sums of money. The officers, knowing nothing of our system of banking and exchange, concluded it could only be for services rendered the English, and reported the fact to the king, who, in an angry tone, ordered that the two foreign teachers should also be arrested.

It was on the 8th of June, 1824, that a company of Burmans,

* Mr. Judson, in a deposition made to Mr. Crawford, envoy from the governor general of India to the court of Ava, in 1816, says, "The Burmese are of opinion that all white men, except the French, are subjects of the king of England. Since the overthrow of the emperor Napoleon, they even believe that France has become a part of England's dominions." "The Americans," he adds, "were peculiarly liable to be confounded with the English, from speaking the same language." — *Crawford's Journal of the Embassy*, vol. 2, p. 87.

headed by an officer, and attended by a "spotted-faced son of the prison,"* came to the mission house, and, in the presence of Mrs. Judson, seized her husband and Dr. Price, and after binding them tight with cords, drove them away to the court house. From this place they were hurried, by order of the king, without examination, to a loathsome dungeon, known as "the death prison," where along with the other foreigners they were confined, each loaded with three pairs of fetters and fastened to a long pole, so as to be incapable of moving. Meanwhile, Mrs. Judson was shut up in her house, deprived of her furniture and of most of her articles of property, and watched for several days by an unfeeling guard, to whose rapacious extortions and brutal annoyances she was constantly exposed, without being able to make any exertion for the liberation of the prisoners, or the mitigation of their cruel sentence. She, however, at length succeeded in addressing a petition to the governor of the city, who had the prisoners in charge. By a present of one hundred dollars to his subordinate officer, their condition was somewhat meliorated, and by the unwearied perseverance of Mrs. Judson, and her affecting appeals to the sympathies of the governor, he was induced to grant her occasional permission to go to the prison, and at length to build for herself a bamboo shed in the prison yard, where she took up her abode, in order that she might prepare food for the prisoners, and otherwise minister to their necessities.

At the end of nine months, they were suddenly removed from Ava to Amarapura, and thence to a wretched place several miles beyond, called Oung-pen-la, where it was arranged that they should be put to death in the presence of the pakah-woon, as a kind of sacrifice in honor of his taking command of a new

* In Burmah, the executioners are a class by themselves, hated and shunned by all others. They are reprieved felons, bound in service to the prisons, and marked by a tattooed circle on their cheeks, and often by the name of their crime tattooed on their breasts. — *Malcom's Travels in South Eastern India*, vol. 1, p. 212.

The one here referred to was marked with the Burman word 'Lu-that,' or Man-killer.'

army of fifty thousand men about to march against the English. This sanguinary chief had been raised from a low condition to the rank of woongyee ; but in the height of his power, just as he was about to march at the head of the army he had mustered, he fell into disgrace, was charged with treason, and executed at an hour's notice, with the unqualified approbation of all classes of people at Ava. His timely execution saved the missionaries from the fate which hung over them, and they were left uncared for in the miserable cells of Oung-pen-la, till the near approach of the English to the capital induced the king to send for Mr. Judson, to accompany the embassy that was about to start for the English camp, for the purpose of averting the destruction that now threatened the Golden City.

During all this gloomy period of a year and a half Mrs. Judson followed them from prison to prison, beneath the darkness of night and the burning sun of noon-day, bearing in her arms her infant daughter, — the child of sorrow and misfortune, who was born after the imprisonment of its father, — procuring for them food which Burman policy never supplies to prisoners, and perpetually interceding for them with their successive keepers, with the governor of the city, with the kinsmen of the monarch, and the members of the royal household. More than once the queen's brother gave orders that they should be privately put to death ; but such was the influence which Mrs. Judson possessed over the mind of the governor, that he evaded the order each time it was given, and assured her that for her sake he would not execute her husband, even though he was obliged to execute all the others. And when at last they were to be taken from his jurisdiction and driven to the horrid prison-house of Oung-pen-la, at the command of the pakah-woon, the old man humanely summoned Mrs. Judson from the prison where he had permitted her to go and sit with her husband, in order that she might be spared the pangs of a separation which he had not the power to prevent. Her own pen has traced, in lines that will never be forgotten by those who read them, the affecting history of the dismal days and nights of her husband's

captivity. We follow her alike with admiration and the deepest sympathy as she takes her solitary way from Ava, at first in a boat upon the river and then in a Burman cart, in search of the unknown place to which the prisoners have been carried. At length, overcome with fatigue, with exposure, and the bitter pangs of hope deferred, we see her in a comfortless cabin, prostrate with disease and brought to the very gates of death,—while her infant is carried about the village by its father in the hours of his occasional liberation, to be nourished by such Burman mothers as might have compassion on its helpless necessities.

Such is a single scene from this melancholy record of missionary suffering. History has not recorded, poetry itself has seldom portrayed, a more affecting exhibition of Christian fortitude, of female heroism, and all the noble and generous qualities which constitute the dignity and glory of woman. In the midst of sickness and danger, and every calamity which can crush the human heart, she presented a character equal to the sternest trial, and an address and a fertility of resources which gave her an ascendancy over the minds of her most cruel enemies, and alone saved the missionaries and their fellow captives from the terrible doom which constantly awaited them. Day after day and amid the lonely hours of night was she employed in conciliating the favor of their keepers, and in devising plans for their release, or the alleviation of their captivity. Sometimes, she confesses, her thoughts would wander for a brief interval to America and the beloved friends of her better days; “but for nearly a year and a half, so entirely engrossed was every thought with present scenes and sufferings, that she seldom reflected on a single occurrence of her former life, or recollected that she had a friend in existence out of Ava.”

The negotiations which had been commenced in the winter of 1826 were conducted, from beginning to end, by the aid of Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, though they were often interrupted or entirely broken off by the caprice and jealousy of the Burman monarch and his officers. The king placed no confidence in the English, and, at several stages of their advance, sent com-

missioners to induce the general, Sir Archibald Campbell, to abate his demands and otherwise to alter the terms which he had uniformly proposed as the basis of peace. At length, to the utmost disappointment and dismay of the Burmans, their last army, which had been raised with many protestations of certain victory, was totally routed at Pagan, a city endeared to the people by its ancient shrines, and deemed impregnable by its strong fortifications; and the defeated general, who fled to Ava, was driven in disgrace from the presence of his despotic master, and ordered to be immediately put to death. The English army, which had steadily advanced almost without repulse from the capture of Rangoon, was now encamped at Yandabo, within forty miles of Ava, and was already threatening the capital itself. The king was convinced that he could no longer escape the humiliating necessity of paying the entire sum which had been demanded, and with ill-disguised mortification he hastened to send forward the first instalment under cover of night, in order to conceal as far as possible its payment from the people. Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, who had been repeatedly sent to the camp of the English commander to ask a modification of the terms which he demanded, were now compelled to go again with the officers who bore the money. The European prisoners were all released by the conditions of the treaty, and the cruel incarceration of the missionaries was thus brought to a close. So important were the services which they had rendered the government in negotiating the peace, that they were earnestly invited to remain at the capital, and were assured that they should be promoted and become great men. Dr. Price was subsequently induced to accept the proposals of the king; but Mr. and Mrs. Judson determined without delay to leave the place which, before all others on earth, might well seem to them the chosen abode of despotism and cruelty, and repair to the English camp, to which they had been kindly invited by Sir Archibald Campbell.

Mrs. Judson, to whose touching letter to her brother, Dr. Elnathan Judson, we are indebted for most of the foregoing

facts and views, thus records her departure from Ava, and her obligations to the English commander: "It was on a cool, moonlight evening in the month of March, that, with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy, surrounded by six or eight golden boats, and accompanied by all we had on earth. We now, for the first time for more than a year and a half, felt that we were free, and no longer subject to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. And with what sensations of delight, on the next morning, did I behold the masts of the steamboat,—the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilized life! . . . We feel that our obligations to General Campbell can never be cancelled. Our final release from Ava, and our recovering all the property that had there been taken, were owing entirely to his efforts. His subsequent hospitality and kind attention to the accommodations for our passage to Rangoon have left an indelible impression on our minds, and can never be forgotten."

In the long absence of the missionaries the little flock of disciples at Rangoon had become widely scattered, as sheep without a shepherd. Many had been driven by the tumults of the times far into the jungles of the interior; some had died; others met the missionaries as they descended the river, overjoyed at their deliverance from captivity, and prepared to follow them whithersoever they should go. Moungh Shwa-ba, faithful through every adversity, alone dwelt at the mission house, awaiting the return of the teachers. On their arrival at Rangoon, Mr. Judson accepted the invitation of Mr. Crawford, the commissioner of Lord Amherst, at that time governor-general of India, to accompany him on a tour of observation to several of the districts which, by the recent treaty, had been ceded to the English government. They proceeded up the Salween, or Martaban river, and at a point on the eastern bank, not far from its mouth, they fixed on the site for a town, which was designed to be henceforth the capital of the English possessions in Burmah. The spot received the name of Amherst, in honor of the governor-general, and was set apart as the future

seat of a civilized and Christian government, with appropriate ceremonies, and with religious services which were conducted by Mr. Judson. Here he determined to remove his family, and to plant a new missionary station, where, beneath the broad protection of the British flag, he and his coadjutors in the mission might preach the gospel and labor for the salvation of men, unharmed by Burman power.

No sooner, however, had the mission become fairly established at Amherst, than Mr. Judson was earnestly solicited to accompany, as translator, the embassy which Mr. Crawford was directed to undertake to the court of Ava, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with the government. He at first declined the appointment, but on being assured by the commissioner that he would use his utmost endeavors to have inserted in the treaty a clause for securing religious toleration — the great object for which he had toiled so long — he at length decided to accept the office and join the embassy, which it was thought would require an absence of only four or five months from the mission. Leaving Mrs. Judson and her infant daughter quietly settled in the house of the civil superintendent at Amherst, he sailed for Rangoon on the 5th of July, and after considerable delay proceeded again up the Irrawaddy to the Burman capital. The manner in which the embassy was received at Ava, and the character of the negotiations, all singularly illustrative of oriental life, together with an account of the services of Mr. Judson, have been fully set forth in the journal of the embassy by the excellent commissioner, Mr. Crawford. The Burman king, however, refused to grant any legal toleration to the religion of the strangers, choosing to confine himself, in all the stipulations of the treaty, exclusively to the interests and relations of commerce. The hope which had alone induced Mr. Judson to accompany the embassy was thus entirely frustrated, and the disappointment was made the more painful by the tedious delays which protracted his absence from the mission far beyond his original anticipations.

It was while thus detained at Ava that he received the sad

tidings of the death of Mrs. Judson. A remittent fever had settled on her constitution, already enfeebled by suffering and disease, and she died on the 24th of October, 1826, amid the universal sorrow alike of the English residents at Amherst and of the native Christians who had gathered around her at her new home. So soon as he could release himself from his engagements with the embassy, Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon and hastened to Amherst, that he might again clasp in his embrace his now motherless babe, and glean some tidings of the latest moments of his departed wife. He arrived at his desolate home on the 24th of January, and found his daughter already fading with the disease that soon hurried her away to rest with her mother. From the attendant physician he learned all that could be known of Mrs. Judson's sickness, and received the assurance that she was faithfully cared for by those who watched around her bed. The native Christians also related to him her parting conversations, and the words of love and piety which she directed them to repeat to the absent teacher. Mr. and Mrs. Wade had already arrived at Amherst, and were continuing the missionary school which Mrs. Judson had commenced; but the mission was still shrouded in gloom, and its now solitary founder, though inured to privation and suffering, was overwhelmed with affliction. Humanity knows no keener anguish than that of blighted and broken affections; and when Mr. Judson again settled at Amherst, amid the memorials of ruined hopes and joys, it is not strange that he entered with diminished interest upon the work of the mission. "The life which made his own life pleasant was at an end, and the gates of death seemed closed upon his earthly prospects."

Mrs. Judson was buried at Amherst, and beside her grave sleeps her infant daughter, who survived her but a few weeks. The spot is marked by an appropriate though humble memorial, on which is inscribed the affecting story of those who sleep beneath. It will be rendered forever sacred to Christians in every land by the memory of one in whom genius and heroism and piety were combined with the highest graces both of person and of character.

CHAPTER IX.

SEAT of the Board established at Boston. — Rev. Dr. Staughton. — American Sympathy for the Missionaries. — Condition of the Mission. — Death of Dr. Price. — Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Boardman. — Their settlement at Maulmain. — Removal of the Mission to Maulmain. — Labors of the Missionaries. — Mr. and Mrs. Boardman remove to Tavoy. — Condition of the city. — They become acquainted with the Karens. — Character of the Karen Race.

DURING the period embraced in the foregoing chapter, many important changes had taken place in the domestic condition of the Board of Managers of the Convention in the United States, a few of which require a passing notice on account of their connection with subsequent events. The seat of the business transactions of the Board, with the residence of its executive officers, was at first at Philadelphia, but after the establishment of the Columbian College at Washington it was removed to that city, in order to allow the Rev. Dr. Staughton to hold the office of President of the College, and at the same time perform his duties as Corresponding Secretary of the Board. Many inconveniences, however, were experienced, especially in the management of the foreign missions, in consequence of the remoteness of Washington from the principal sea-ports of the country. At the triennial meeting of the Convention in 1823, the charter which had been previously granted by the legislature of Pennsylvania was formally adopted, and what was before only a voluntary association became a corporate body recognized by the laws of the land. In the following year the Board, impressed with the embarrassments which attended its present location and modes of transacting business, resolved to transfer the management of the Burman Mission to the care of an executive committee at Boston; and in 1826 Dr. Staughton resigned the office of secretary, and the seat of the entire operations of the Board was fixed at that city. At

the same time Rev. Lucius Bolles, D. D. was appointed Corresponding Secretary in the place of Dr. Staughton, and Hon. Heman Lincoln was appointed Treasurer.

The resignation of Rev. Dr. Staughton withdrew from the immediate management of the missions one of their earliest and most efficient friends. Born in England, and there ordained to the ministry of the gospel, he had been present at Kettering in 1792, at the celebrated meeting of Baptist ministers, at which was formed the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," and his name stands among the earliest of those who signed its constitution and contributed to its support. In the fraternal intercourse of his native land he breathed the spirit which then animated the bosoms of Carey and Fuller, of Ryland and Pearce; and on coming to America he still cherished the same generous and philanthropic views. He had participated in the organization of the General Convention, and from its commencement, in 1814, he had held the office of corresponding secretary, in which, with a discreet and conciliatory spirit, he had conducted the correspondence, shaped the counsels, and superintended the concerns of the Board, while, with an eloquence that lent a charm to every subject on which he spoke, he had advocated the claims of the missions among the churches of every portion of the country. During almost the entire period of his official connection with the Board, his services were wholly gratuitous, and though often extending far beyond the demands of official duty, they were performed with a fidelity and self-sacrifice which have never been surpassed. The early character of our missionary organization, and the rapidity with which it conquered the prejudices and secured the increasing coöperation of individuals and churches in every State of the Union, are in a great degree to be ascribed to the labor, the zeal, and the eloquence of this first corresponding secretary of the Convention.

For more than two years the missionaries who had remained in Burmah were cut off from all communication with their brethren in America, or indeed with every part of the civilized world.

It was a period of the utmost anxiety and suspense to the friends of the mission both in Europe and America. Month after month passed slowly away, but brought no tidings of their fate, and nothing but a strong faith in the protecting providence of God prevented the members of the Board from abandoning all hope of their safety. And when at length the clouds of war were lifted from the horizon, and the news of their deliverance from captivity was received in America, it produced a thrill of gratitude and joy in all Christian hearts. The story of their privations and sufferings was repeated from the pulpit and read by the fireside, every where exciting the deepest sympathy. The duty of reinforcing a missionary band whose members had suffered so much from heathen cruelty was strongly felt among all the churches, and a desire to engage in the sacred work was enkindled in the minds of several young men who were preparing for the ministry of the gospel. Some of these soon afterwards offered themselves to the Board and were appointed missionaries. The enterprise began to assume a new aspect; new fields of missionary exertion were opened, and new facilities were presented for preaching the gospel among the people of Burmah.

By the terms of the treaty which had been ratified between the English government and the Burman, a considerable territory was ceded to the English as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. As the Burman monarch had refused to add to the stipulations of the treaty any guaranty for the toleration of Christianity among his own subjects, it was decided by the missionaries to confine their labors for the present at least, to the districts which had been ceded to the English. Accordingly Mr. and Mrs. Wade had already established themselves at Amherst, where they were now joined by Mr. Judson. Dr. Price, who had accepted the proposal of the king to remain in his service as a physician, returned to Ava, where he established a school for the education of the sons of several families connected with the court. He gathered around him a large number of the young men of rank in the capital, and began to teach them the rudi-

ments of science, and at the same time to impart to them the truths of religion. He also lectured in public before the highest officers of the government on the leading principles of astronomy, and of such other sciences as would have a tendency gradually to undermine their faith in the dogmas of Buddhism; for these are as contradictory to the principles of true science as they are to the teachings of Christianity. His wide medical reputation and his connection with the court afforded opportunities for setting forth religious truth such as an ordinary missionary could not have, and high hopes were entertained of the results of his labors. But ere he had realized any of his noble plans he fell a victim to a pulmonary consumption, and died at his post at Ava in February, 1828.

Early in 1827, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman joined the missionaries at Amherst. They had received their appointment and sailed from the United States two years before, but in consequence of the troubled condition of Burman affairs had remained in Calcutta, where they had been engaged in the study of the language and in other preparations for their work as missionaries. Amherst, which had been originally selected as the seat of the English government in Burmah, proved less convenient than was anticipated, and Sir Archibald Campbell soon decided to remove the head-quarters of the army to Maulmain, a considerable town on the east bank of the Salwen river, about twenty-five miles from its mouth. The former capital was already beginning to decline, a large part of the population having moved away with the troops, and it was decided by the missionaries that Mr. Boardman should commence his labors at Maulmain, while Mr. and Mrs. Wade were to remain at Amherst, and Mr. Judson was to divide his attention between the two stations, as their respective interests might require. The English governor readily presented Mr. Boardman with a lot of land about a mile from the military cantonment, sufficiently large for the accommodation of the mission, on which he erected a small bamboo cottage, and began the work of preaching to the natives. The hopes which this excellent missionary had

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cherished for many years seemed now to be fully realized. He was dwelling in his own cottage, with his family around him, and making known the truths of the gospel to the ignorant children of a dark and cruel idolatry. His dwelling stood in a secluded though beautiful spot on the bank of the river, directly opposite the town of Martaban, now comparatively deserted and the resort of banditti and marauders who prowled through the neighboring villages and pillaged the houses of the inhabitants.

Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were scarcely settled in their new home, when their house was visited in the night by a party of these robbers. Their trunks were broken open and rifled of their contents, and nearly every thing valuable in their possession was carried away. The thin walls of matting within which they slept could afford no protection from the attacks either of robbers or of wild beasts, and they were often startled from their slumbers by the loud tumult of marauders seeking for plunder, or the fierce growl of the tiger that seemed just ready to spring into their very room. After the visit of the robbers, Sir Archibald Campbell sent them two sepoy to guard their premises, and as new houses constantly sprang up around them, they henceforth dwelt in comparative security. They were encouraged by the visits of many respectable natives who came, from one motive or another, to inquire concerning the new religion. In addition to his holding service on the Sabbath and conversing as well as he was able with the visitors who came to his house, Mr. Boardman opened a school for boys and Mrs. Boardman one for girls; and to these they daily gave a portion of their attention. Most of the pupils in both of the schools were children of the native Christians, some of whom had already learned the leading facts of Scripture history from the teachings of their parents. The schools however were intended to embrace such others as could be induced to join them, and were regarded by the missionaries as important means of improving the religious condition of the people.

In November, 1827, the population of Amherst had become so far reduced that the missionaries who were stationed there

determined on removing to Maulmain, which, though but two years since an unoccupied jungle, was already the chief city of the English provinces, and now numbered a population of nearly twenty thousand. Many of the Christian families accompanied them, and the school of Mrs. Wade was united with that of Mrs. Boardman at Maulmain, and the two were placed under the common charge of both these ladies, and were attended with the most gratifying success. Two *zayats* were soon after erected, one for Mr. Wade, on the public road about half a mile south, the other for Mr. Judson, in a populous part of the city about two miles and a half north of the mission house. There the two missionaries would sit through the livelong day, engaged in such studies as they were able to prosecute, but especially conversing upon the doctrines of Christianity with the visitors who soon came to them in great numbers. To these two places of religious teaching it was soon determined to add a third, which should be a kind of *reading zayat*, to which those who could not read the Burman Scriptures might resort and hear them read. To this *zayat* Moungh Shwa-ba and Moungh Ing, two of the early converts at Rangoon, were assigned, and there they alternately read the sacred Scriptures to all who would hear.

From the reports of the missionaries at this period, their labors appear to have been arranged in several distinct classes, each of which had a character and a sphere of its own. The first and most important of these was the public worship of the Sabbath. This was attended by the members of the mission, the scholars, the native converts and inquirers, and such other persons as might come in. The assembly would vary from twenty to seventy or more. The second was the daily evening worship at the mission house. At this twenty persons were usually present, being principally the scholars and the native Christians who lived around the enclosure. After worship, one of the missionaries would spend the remainder of the evening in religious conversation with the men who chose to remain, while the women would repair to the room of Mrs. Wade, to be instructed by her. The third was the schools of Mr. Boardman

for boys, and of Mrs. Boardman and Mrs. Wade for girls. The fourth was attendance at the zayats which had been established, and to which the people were in the habit of daily resorting in great numbers, to converse with the missionaries, or to hear the Scriptures read by the native assistants.

The permanent collection of so many of the missionaries at a single station was not approved by the Board, or deemed desirable by the missionaries themselves. In accordance therefore with instructions received from the Corresponding Secretary, it was decided that Mr. and Mrs. Boardman should remove to Tavoy, the chief town of the province of Tavoy. It is situated on a river of the same name, about thirty-five miles from the sea, and one hundred and fifty miles south of Maulmain, and had at this time a population of upwards of nine thousand, of whom six thousand were Burmans.

The city itself is one of the leading strongholds of the religion of Gaudama, and when Mr. Boardman took up his abode there in April, 1828, it was the residence of two hundred priests. Temples and shrines dedicated to heathen worship arose in every part of the city, and as the missionary wandered through its regular and well-arranged streets in search of a site whereon to build a zayat and a mission house, he could find scarcely a spot that was not crowded with emblems of idolatry. The largest pagoda of the city is about fifty feet in diameter and one hundred and fifty feet in height; around it are others of smaller dimensions, which, with the great pagoda, are all gilt from the summit to the base, and surmounted with an umbrella of iron, which is also loaded with gilding. In and around the enclosure which contains these numerous pagodas and shrines, stands an extensive and thickly-set grove of banyan and other sacred trees, intersected with paved foot-paths which lead to the various spots consecrated by the legends of religion. Every object that the eye rests upon is covered with the marks of idolatry, — with inscriptions and devices, the emblems of the fabled deity whom the city worships.

On the days which are set apart for religious observances

the grove is crowded with Burmans, who perform the rites of their superstition beneath the solemn shade of the banyan, while the women festoon its branching trunks with lilies and flowers of every hue, which they bring as offerings to propitiate the divinity. Blending with the picturesque and sombre beauty of the scene is heard the sound of innumerable bells, which are hung around the spires of the larger pagodas, and which, when moved by the slightest breeze, ring out their thousand varying chimes, and seem to summon from afar the people of the vales and the mountains to the observances of their ancient superstition. Tavoy alone contains nearly a thousand pagodas, besides great numbers which crown the hill-tops and eminences in the surrounding country.

Thus given to idolatry, even beyond most other portions of the empire, was the ancient city to which Mr. Boardman removed, and where he now began to make known for the first time the truths of Christianity. He was kindly received and hospitably entertained by Major Burney, the Civil Superintendent of the district, and, in ten days after his arrival, he had taken a house in the city and was receiving visits from the inhabitants. Early in July the zayat was completed, and he commenced his labors in it with the most devoted zeal, and in the full faith of the ultimate triumph of the doctrines he taught. He looked out upon the strange magnificence of shrines and temples that lay around him,—upon the monuments which had perpetuated for many ages this idolatrous worship,—upon the priests who taught it and the countless devotees who practiced it; and as he prepared to strike the first blow at the hoary superstition which they all enshrined, he felt to the full the sublimity and greatness of the undertaking. He stood alone, the herald of truth, before this mighty array of ancient error, but he trusted implicitly in the promises of revelation, and felt assured that the day was at hand when all this empty adoration of Gaudama would give place to the worship of the living God.

The priests of the city at first appeared to regard with indifference, if not with favor, his humble and unostentatious en-

deavors to instruct the people. He soon, however, learned that they were arraying themselves against him, and cautioning those within the reach of their influence not to listen to his teachings, and on one occasion, soon after he opened the zayat, a priest, who was passing by while he was talking with an intelligent Burman, stopped to reprimand the affrighted man for listening to his conversation. He was also sometimes visited by persons of the higher classes in Tavoy, who in the presence of the others would attempt with great subtlety to vindicate the doctrines of Gandama, and blame the missionary for condemning them before he had read all the sacred books in which they are explained. But notwithstanding all these endeavors to frustrate his labors, they did not fail to secure the attention and excite the interest of the people, and many daily came to listen to his conversation, and to express to him the cravings, which even in their darkened natures had not been wholly destroyed, for a more satisfying faith than that which they had received. Two of these soon avowed their adoption of Christianity, and, in the course of the first summer of Mr. Boardman's residence at Tavoy, were baptized and constituted the germ of a new Christian church.

When Mr. Boardman removed to Tavoy, there was living in his family a man of middle age who had been a slave, but whose freedom had been purchased by the missionaries. When he left Maulmain he was already a convert to Christianity, and was baptized soon after he came to Tavoy. His name was Ko Thah-byu, one of the race of Karens; and he afterwards for many years preached the gospel with singular zeal and success to his despised and oppressed countrymen. His conversion to Christianity was the means of attracting the attention of the missionaries to the race to which he belonged, and of founding a mission which, in point of interest and success, has scarcely been equalled by any other of modern times.

This singular people are widely scattered over the forests and mountains of Burmah and Siam, and even of some parts of China, and are called Karians, or Karens, a term in the language

of the country, meaning *wild men*. They are entirely distinct from the Burmans, by whom they are regarded as inferiors or slaves, and though their origin cannot be clearly traced, yet, from their features and language, they have been thought by the missionaries to belong to the Caucasian variety of the human species. They have adopted many of the customs and modes of life of the Burmans, but though inferior both in physical and intellectual strength, they are in general more industrious, and less addicted to the vices of barbarian tribes. Their condition however is a degraded one, and, addicted as they are to intemperance, their character and habits of life in their native rudeness are often disgusting in the extreme.

They are every where cruelly oppressed by the Burmans among whom they dwell; being compelled to cultivate the land, to pay large tributes, and to perform every kind of servile labor. Hence they lead a wandering life, and usually plant their temporary villages in remote and inaccessible regions in order to avoid the incursions of their oppressors, who often hunt them out to kidnap and enslave them.

The Karens present the extraordinary phenomenon of a people without any form of religion or established priesthood, yet believing in the existence of God and in a future state of rewards and punishments, and cherishing a set of traditions of unusual purity and interest, which they transmit from age to age in the poetic legends of their race. These traditions contain many doctrines strikingly similar to the truths of Scripture, which in reality form the germs of a religion far superior in its influence upon their moral natures, to that of their haughty oppressors. The absence of a priesthood and of all the rites of superstition undoubtedly renders them more immediately accessible to the truths of the gospel, while the sanctions of virtue, the reverence for the unseen deity and the anticipations of a future life which are inculcated in their legends, tend to quicken and refine, to an unusual degree, their sensibility to moral truth. Blended with the traditions which they cherish are some singular prophecies, relating to their future elevation as a people, and asserting that

they are not always to be thus degraded, that a brighter day is at length to dawn upon their race, and that white strangers from across the sea would come to teach them "the words of God," and raise them from their degradation. Hence, when the missionaries first became known to them, they evinced the greatest delight and welcomed them with the utmost enthusiasm. They believed that the mysterious predictions of the "elders" of a former generation were about to be fulfilled, and that the Karens were now to be restored to a happiness and a dignity which they had lost for ages. Singular as these predictions appear, we shall perceive in the subsequent part of this narrative how important was the influence which they exerted over the character of this simple people, and to how great an extent they were literally fulfilled by the arrival and the labors of the missionaries.*

CHAPTER X.

LABORS of Ko Thah-byu. — Superstitions of the Karens. — Their interest in Christianity. — Mr. Boardman visits their Villages. — His agency in establishing Schools. — Insurrection in Tavoy. — Interruption of the Mission. — Increasing interest of the Karens. — Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Mason at Tavoy. — Ill health of Mr. Boardman. — His last Visit to the Karens. — His Death.

MR. BOARDMAN soon after his settlement at Tavoy became acquainted with several of the Karens in the city, who were generally first brought to him by the disciple Ko Thah-byu — a person who early evinced the most active zeal in the service of the mission, and especially in enlisting the interests of his own countrymen in the new religion. The intelligence that a white teacher from across the sea had arrived at Tavoy was widely circulated through the villages of the interior, and soon Karens

* Specimens of Karen traditions and prophecies have often been published by the missionaries. Many are contained in Mr. Mason's *Life of Ko Thah-byu*.

from the jungle, distant several days' journey from the city, were seen at the mission house, listening with curious interest to the conversations of the missionary. He found them possessed of a delicate sensibility and a spirit unusually teachable, and the interest which they manifested in religious truth being so much greater than that of the Burmans, soon made them the principal objects of his attention and labor.

Among the illustrations of their singular susceptibility of moral impressions, Mr. Boardman relates an account of a book which had been left at one of their villages twelve years before, by a travelling Mussulman, who told them it was sacred, and commanded them to worship it. The person to whose charge it was delivered, though ignorant of its contents, wrapped it in folds of muslin and enclosed it in a case, or basket, made of reeds covered over with pitch. It was henceforth a *deified book*, and an object of religious veneration. The keeper of it became a kind of sorcerer, and he and all the people of his village firmly believed that a teacher would at length come and explain the contents of the mysterious volume. When the arrival of Mr. Boardman was reported in the village, the guardian of the deified book came with a chief of the tribe to the mission house, to obtain his opinion respecting its character. The missionary, after hearing their story and speaking to them of the nature of Christianity, proposed that they should return to their village and bring him the book, that he might judge of its contents. Accordingly, after several days, the sorcerer returned, attended by a numerous train and bringing with him the venerated volume. All seemed to anticipate Mr. Boardman's opinion as decisive of its character, and were wrought to a high pitch of expectation of its announcement. The sorcerer, at his request, stood before him, with the basket containing the mysterious treasure at his feet. He carefully unrolled the muslin and took from its folds "an old, tattered, worn-out volume" which, creeping forward, he reverently presented to the missionary. It proved to be no other than the "Book of Common Prayer and the Psalms," of an edition printed in Oxford. "It is a good book,"

said Mr. Boardman ; " it teaches that there is a God in Heaven, whom alone we should worship. You have been ignorantly worshipping this book ; that is not good. I will teach you to worship the God whom the book reveals. Every Karen countenance was alternately lighted up with smiles of joy and cast down with inward convictions of having erred in worshipping a book instead of the God whom it reveals. I took the book of psalms in Burman and read such passages as seemed appropriate, and having given a brief and easy explanation, engaged in prayer. They stayed two days, and discovered considerable interest in the instructions given them." The aged sorcerer, on hearing Mr. Boardman's decision respecting the book, seemed readily to perceive that his office was at an end, and at the suggestion of one of the native Christians, he disrobed himself of the fantastical dress which he had been accustomed to wear, and gave up the heavy cudgel, or wand, which for twelve years he had borne as the badge of his spiritual authority.

Though Mr. Boardman henceforth directed his principal efforts to the Karens, he did not abandon his labors among the Burmans. Indeed they were inseparably united, for in nearly every assembly that he met, Burmans and Karens were mingled together, and as the Karens at this time had no written language his instructions were of necessity imparted in the Burman, with which they seem to have been generally quite familiar.

At the beginning of the year 1831 Mr. Boardman had been often visited by Karens from the interior, who stated to him that their people had heard of his arrival, and were desirous of being taught by him. They had come long journeys from the neighboring province of Mergui and from settlements far to the east, and all invited him to visit them in their own jungle and instruct them in the ways of God. He decided to comply with their repeated requests, and accordingly on the 5th of February he commenced a journey to some of the less remote of the Karen villages.

The little caravan, in addition to Mr. Boardman, consisted of Ko Thah-byu, and another Christian Karen, two of the elder

boys of the school, and a native of Malabar, who was employed as a servant and cook. They directed their course first to the village of Tshick-koo, the residence of the sorcerer and the chief Mounng So, who had visited the mission house at Tavoy. Their journey lay through a country studded all over with the monuments of idolatry. Every cliff and peak along the mountains which they passed, seemed crowned with a pagoda. At length, on the third day, they reached the village to which they had been invited. The villagers, who had been expecting them, testified their joy on seeing the white teacher and exclaimed, "Ah! you have come at last; we have long been wishing to see you." The travellers were supplied by the simple natives with fowls, fish and rice, and entertained with the utmost hospitality which the village could furnish.

Mr. Boardman found here a zayat which had been put up in anticipation of his arrival, large enough to contain the whole population of the village, numbering in all not more than sixty or seventy persons. In the evening a company of about thirty assembled, to whom he preached some of the simplest truths of the gospel, his words being interpreted by Ko Thah-byu, so that those present who were ignorant of Burman might understand his teachings. They listened attentively and many of them remained the whole night in the zayat with the missionary. On the following day they came together in still larger numbers, of both sexes and all ages, bringing presents to the teacher and his companions. After they had heard him explain the salvation which is offered in the gospel, five of them at the close of the day requested him to baptize them, that they might also be disciples of Christ. One of them was the old sorcerer who had been the keeper of the sacred book, another was a disciple and associate of his, while the remaining three were persons who had often been at Tavoy and had requested baptism several months before. He decided to defer the baptism of all of them for the present, till he should have opportunity to instruct them more fully and judge more accurately respecting the change which they professed to have experienced. He explained to them the

ten commandments, and as they were without the division of time into weeks, he was pleased to observe the arrangements which they devised with much care, in order to recollect the return of the Sabbath day.

On his return, he stopped at other villages to which he was invited by the inhabitants, by whom he was invariably received with the greatest hospitality and respect. In one of these villages two men, who had often heard the gospel from Ko Thahbyu, made a request for Christian baptism. He however advised them to wait still longer in learning the religion of Christ. After an absence of nine or ten days, which he passed in these visits to the villages of the Karens, Mr. Boardman returned to Tavoy more than ever interested in the character of these singular people, and full of hope and encouragement respecting their early conversion to Christianity. He had formed a large and comprehensive plan of missionary operations, embracing both schools and a system of itinerant preaching among the villages of the province, which he had already submitted to the consideration of the Board of Managers and of the Convention. The little church which he had founded at Tavoy, was receiving frequent accessions, and though not without occasional instances of apostasy, was yet in a highly prosperous condition, while from every part of the surrounding jungle there came the voice of inquiry for books that would make known the true God, and for visits from the teacher to tell the people of the new religion.

Mr. Boardman attached great importance to Christian schools as a part of the agency of the mission. The schools for boys and for girls which had been established by himself and Mrs. Boardman, had been productive of the most beneficial results. The school for girls at the close of a year from its establishment contained twenty-one scholars, while that for boys had a number still larger, of whom the five eldest had been baptized and admitted to the church. Mr. Boardman had also made many efforts to have schools established throughout the city, but he encountered innumerable obstacles, and at the end

of three months, had been able to establish but one, the teacher of which he was allowed to employ at the expense of the English government. During the second summer of his residence at Tavoy, while the external condition of the mission was the most encouraging, he was visited with a series of personal and domestic afflictions, which proved not only a severe trial of his spirit, but a serious detriment to the interests of the mission. His own health had already begun to give alarming symptoms of decline; that of Mrs. Boardman had become seriously impaired; their eldest born, a daughter of tender years, had suddenly fallen sick and died, and their only remaining child was prostrated by disease and apparently destined soon to sleep with his sister in the grave. But though encountering many outward discouragements and oppressed with the poignant sorrow of recent bereavement, these indefatigable missionaries still labored on in the school and at the yayat; wherever they met the ignorant idolaters of Tavoy, there they sought to do them good and lead them in the way of life.

On the 9th of August, 1829, the missionaries were roused from their slumbers at an early hour, by a knocking at their doors and windows, and their native friends crying to them, "Teacher! Teacher! Tavoy rebels." On inquiry they found that the province had risen in insurrection against the English government, and that large companies of natives had attacked the powder magazine, the dwelling of one of the principal officers and the prison. The utmost alarm existed in the city, which was garrisoned only by a small party of sepoys with a few English officers to command them. Their own premises were surrounded by bands of the insurgents, and the balls which they fired upon the city whistled above their heads, and occasionally passed through their house. The sepoys were at length after a severe conflict able to drive the rebels from the city gates, but it was only to render the situation of the missionaries still more perilous; for their house was now directly between the two parties and in the range of the fire of each, and their enclosures seemed destined to be the battle-ground of

the insurrection. Early in the day, they were glad to avail themselves of the invitation which had been sent them by Mrs. Burney, the wife of the civil superintendent, who was himself absent from home, to take refuge in the government house; they had been here however but a short time, when it was determined to evacuate the town and retire to a building at the quay on the margin of the river. Here, in a wooden building of only six rooms, were crowded together for several days the European residents, the sepoys, and two or three hundred women and children of Portuguese and others, who looked to the English for protection. Several hundred barrels of powder were standing in the rooms around them, and on the outside were raging the tumultuous hosts of the insurgents, elated with their possession of the town and threatening destruction to the English and their adherents. At length, on the morning of the 13th of August, Major Burney arrived at Tavoy in the steamer *Diana*, and as it was determined to send the vessel immediately to Maulmain for reinforcements, Mrs. Boardman and her family embarked with Mrs. Burney, leaving Mr. Boardman with the superintendent to render such service as might be in his power, and also to look after the articles of property belonging to the mission house, which had been scattered and broken to pieces by the infuriated natives.

On the 15th two successive attacks were made upon the town under the direction of Major Burney, which resulted in the entire repulse of the insurgents, and the capture of several of their leaders. When quiet was restored Mr. Boardman went into the town, but found many parts of it in ruins. The mission house was cut to pieces by the rebels, and every thing which had been left behind by the mission family in their hurried flight had been carried away or destroyed, and the premises and the adjacent fields and roads were strown with the fragments of books and furniture which had been wantonly ruined. He spent several days in gathering together the relics which he found, and in repairing the mission house; and then, taking with him such of the scholars as were desirous of going, he joined Mrs. Board-

man at Maulmain. The affairs of Tavoy were soon settled, and the province made quiet beneath the sway of the English. The mission house having been rebuilt, and other arrangements for recommencing the mission completed, the missionaries with their family and scholars returned to Tavoy on the 6th of October, and established themselves again at their familiar post of labor.

The tumults of the rebellion had scattered the little band of Karen disciples, and broken up the schools; but so soon as it was known that Mr. Boardman had returned, the Karens came back from the jungles to which they had fled, testifying their joy at the safety of the missionaries. Three of them, who, before the revolt, had asked to be baptized and had given satisfactory evidence of piety, now renewed their request. One of the three was sixty-five years of age, and the others were past middle life, and it was regarded by Mr. Boardman as a most gratifying proof of the power of the gospel on their hearts, that these persons, uninduced by worldly prospects, should in their old age give up the customs of their ancestors, and travel a distance of fifty miles, by difficult and perilous paths, to receive Christian baptism. They were baptized according to their request, and were soon afterwards admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's supper, which was now observed by the church with much solemnity and spiritual preparation, for the first time since the return of the missionaries. Mr. Boardman was also particularly encouraged at observing that the congregations at the zayat were larger and more attentive than they had ever been before, and that the number of scholars in the school had very considerably increased. Cheered by these indications, he commenced a system of visiting in succession the villages around Tavoy, preaching from house to house, and conversing with those whom he met by the way. He usually took with him some member of his church, and one or two of the boys from the school, and in this way often visited three or four villages in a week, meeting the Burmans in their houses, or conversing with them in the fields and by the wayside, every where seeking to

interest them in the religion which he taught. Several of the Karen converts also asked of him permission to go to their jungle, and communicate the gospel to their own countrymen; and Ko Thah-byu, with two others, was often sent across the mountains, with credentials from Mr. Boardman to preach to the inhabitants of distant villages. Thus, like the early disciples, did these simple-hearted converts go forth scattering the precious seeds of spiritual truth through wide districts of the Burman empire, and proclaiming to multitudes of degraded Karens the precepts and the invitations of the gospel of Christ. The results of their travels and their simple-hearted preaching soon began to appear. The missionaries were constantly visited by persons dwelling beyond the mountains, and even on the borders of Siam, who had heard the gospel from these wandering disciples, or had read the Scriptures which they had given them, and who now came to the teachers, to be instructed in the faith of which they had thus been taught only the simplest rudiments. The impression which was produced upon the minds of this singular people by the earnest teachings of a few early converts, harmonizing, as it did, with all the legends and predictions of an elder age, well illustrates the sensibility which belongs to their nature, and the extraordinary readiness which they evinced to receive the gospel.

In this manner, engaged in superintending the schools connected with the mission, in sending forth the more intelligent of the converts to distribute the Scriptures and to teach their countrymen, in preaching the gospel and conversing with numerous visitors, and in journeying from village to village through the province of Tavoy, Mr. Boardman passed the first two years of his missionary life. During this period his labors had often been interrupted by sickness and death in his family, by the insurrection of the people, and especially by the repeated recurrence of hemorrhage of the lungs, — a malady to which he had been subject for several years, and which had now seriously undermined his constitution. Notwithstanding the frequent interruptions he had experienced, he had been enabled to

accomplish an unusual amount of missionary labor. He had gathered a native church of twenty persons, of whom fifteen were Karens; he had carefully instructed many more in the doctrines of the gospel who now gave evidence of being truly converted; and in the districts around Tavoy, which he had visited, he had the satisfaction of seeing more than one village of Karens abandoning the practices of barbarian life, observing the Sabbath, and recognizing the institutions of Christianity. Mrs. Boardman had already gone to Maulmain for the recovery of her health, and for the purpose of meeting some missionary friends who had arrived from America; and on the 27th of April, 1830, Mr. Boardman, too much enfeebled by disease to continue his arduous labors, now sailed for Maulmain, where he arrived on the 3d of May. The Karen disciples bade him farewell with a sorrow which they could not repress, for they feared they might not see him again. They asked the names of all the missionaries that they might mention each in their prayers, and they also manifested much curiosity respecting the Indians of America, whom they had been told they resembled in character, and expressed their intention to pray for them, that they too might receive the gospel.

The memory of scenes like these lingered in the mind of Mr. Boardman during his residence at Maulmain, and was occasionally renewed by the reports which he received from the Karen Christians who travelled among the villages of the country. While attached to the mission in that city he was able, notwithstanding his feeble health, to perform a large amount of missionary labor. Messrs. Judson and Wade were at this time absent from the station, and a large share of its public duties necessarily rested upon him. He preached on the Sabbath twice in English and once in Burman, and once also in Burman or in English during the week; he attended catechetical or other similar classes every alternate evening in the week, and during each day was occupied in correcting proof-sheets for the press, in religious conversation, or in the necessary oversight of the several interests and labors of the mission. Mrs.

Boardman gradually regained her accustomed strength, and at Maulmain, as at Tavoy, was constantly employed in teaching at the schools, and in conversing with the Burman women who came to the mission house. Her infant son was suddenly taken from her by death, and a still heavier calamity seemed to be threatening her in the declining health of her husband. To him the change of residence brought no benefit, and the horizon seemed already darkening around him with the shadows of death.

At length, after having spent seven months at Maulmain, during which Mr. Boardman had gained only a temporary respite from the insidious malady that preyed upon him, they returned to Tavoy, and taking with them the scholars who had accompanied them, entered again upon their accustomed labors. They were also accompanied by several of the native Christians, the principal of whom were Mounng Ing, the native preacher of Rangoon, and Ko Thah-byu, the earnest-minded and indefatigable Karen.

So soon as it became known in the jungle that the missionaries had returned to Tavoy, they were visited by many of their former friends, who came to them with expressions of joy, and loaded them with the presents which they brought. The children too came back to the schools, and the labors of the mission were immediately resumed. Of those who came to them within a few days after their return, five, whom they had often met before, asked for baptism, and at the end of two weeks, Ko Thah-byu, who had gone out to spread the tidings that the missionaries had returned, came back, bringing with him about forty of his countrymen. Among them were all the native Christians whom they had not seen before, and a number of others, who wished to be baptized. Three days were devoted to the examination of the candidates who presented themselves for baptism. Eighteen of them were accepted, and on the 20th of December they were baptized by Mounng Ing, under the direction of Mr. Boardman, who was, at the time, unable to administer the ordinance himself. At the close of the day he met the Karen

church, now increased to thirty-seven members, at the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and at the solemn feast mingled his gratitude with theirs, for the auspicious event which had thus nearly doubled their little band in a single day. Several others were baptized a few weeks later, and many more had visited Mr. Boardman, and having been approved by him, were waiting, with others whom he had not seen, in their respective villages, till he could visit them and admit them to the church by administering the rite of baptism.

His constitution was now rapidly yielding to the inroads of the disease which had so long been consuming his strength, and it was evident that his labors were nearly at an end. The eager Karens, fearing he might not be able to fulfill the promise he had long ago made them, had built a zayat for his reception, and offered to come to the city and carry him in a litter on the journey, in order that they might secure his presence among them. He had just decided to yield to their pressing importunities, and to spend the latest effort of his strength in making the visit, when Mr. and Mrs. Mason arrived at Tavoy, as auxiliaries to the mission. He knew, by a fatal intuition, that he had no time for delay, and, on the 31st of January, a few days after the arrival of Mr. Mason, he set out upon the journey. He was borne in a cot, on the shoulders of the Karens, and was accompanied by Mrs. Boardman and the newly-arrived missionaries. At the end of three days they reached the zayat, which stood on the margin of a beautiful stream, at the foot of a range of mountains, whose sloping sides were lined with the villages of the strange people whom they had come to visit. More than a hundred were already assembled at the zayat, nearly half of whom were candidates for baptism. Aided by Mr. Mason and the native Christians who were present, he examined them in the history of their Christian experience, and in the doctrines of the gospel. But his strength was exhausted, and he could do no more. At the close of the day, just as the sun was sinking behind the mountains, his cot was placed at the river side, in the midst of the solemn company that was gathered to witness

the first baptism which that ancient mountain-stream had ever beheld. Thirty-four native converts, whose examination had been approved, were baptized by Mr. Mason. As he gazed in silent gratitude upon the scene, he felt that his work was finished, his last promise to these scattered disciples was now fulfilled; and he was ready to depart in peace. He met them again at their evening meal, and, still reclining upon his couch, uttered to them a few words of parting counsel and took leave of them for ever.

On the following morning the missionaries set out on their return to Tavoy, hoping that he might survive the journey, and die at last beneath his own roof. But the hope was disappointed. Ere the second day had passed, his eyes were closed upon the scenes of earth, and his spirit was in heaven with God.

Thus ended the consecrated life of this noble-hearted and intrepid minister of Christ. He lived to witness a glorious triumph of the faith which he taught, and died as every missionary might well wish to die, in the service of his Master, and surrounded by those whom he had been instrumental in converting from heathenism and in reclaiming from barbarism. His tomb is at Tavoy, in the midst of what was once a Buddhist grove, and beneath the shadow of a ruined pagoda. It is covered by a marble slab, placed there as a tribute of respect by three gentlemen who at that time occupied the highest posts in the provincial government, and inscribed with a simple epitaph, which points the traveller who visits it to the Christian villages that skirt the neighboring forests and mountains, as the true memorials of his useful and devoted life.

CHAPTER XI.

THE Mission at Maulmain. — Labors of Messrs. Judson and Wade. — Ordination of Ko Thab-a. — He is stationed at Rangoon. — Messrs. Judson and Wade visit Rangoon. — Circulation of the New Testament and Tracts. — Mr. Judson ascends the Irrawaddy to Prome. — His labors at Rangoon in Translating the Bible. — Return to Maulmain. — Arrival of other Missionaries. — Mr. and Mrs. Wade visit Arracan. — Review of the Progress of the Mission.

WE have lingered the longer upon the events narrated in the preceding chapter, for the purpose of illustrating the origin of the mission among the Karens, and the character of the excellent missionary who first preached to them the gospel. We return now to trace the changes which took place among the missionaries who remained at Maulmain.

After Mr. Boardman left that station in 1828, its affairs were administered by Mr. Judson and Mr. and Mrs. Wade, with the aid of such native assistants as they were able to employ in the schools, in translation and in the other services of the mission. The blessing of Heaven was bestowed upon their labors. The schools were attended by large numbers and with increasing interest, and of the people who came to the zayat to be instructed by the missionaries not a few were converted to the new religion. In 1828, thirty were baptized and added to the little church at Maulmain, and in the year following twenty-eight more, of whom several were soldiers belonging to the English regiments stationed there. These were subsequently formed into a church by themselves. The hours of every week which could be rescued from the more pressing necessities of the mission were devoted, especially by Mr. Judson, to revising the translation of the New Testament and the epitome of the Old, which he had prepared while at Rangoon. Twelve tracts and other treatises on different subjects belonging to the Christian faith were also written or revised, and made ready for the press. The mission, how-

ever, at this time was without any means of printing, and was obliged to rely wholly upon the press at Serampore. This serious impediment to the labors of the missionaries they had not failed to represent to the Board of Managers, and in May, 1829, Mr. Bennett, who had previously been appointed printer to the mission, sailed from Philadelphia, with a press and a font of types. He arrived at Maulmain in the following January, and immediately engaged in putting to press the works which the missionaries had prepared.

In the year 1829, Ko Thah-a, a Burman convert of Rangoon, who since the close of the war, in the absence of all the teachers, had kept alive the little church amidst innumerable perils, came to Maulmain, to represent the condition of his fellow disciples. The missionaries were delighted with his intelligence, his fidelity, and his judicious and persevering zeal, and immediately decided to ordain him as pastor of the church at Rangoon. He returned to his friends, the first Burman who was fully commissioned to preach the gospel and administer its ordinances. Mounng Ing, who, on the decline of Amherst, was withdrawn from the station there, was soon afterwards ordained and associated with Ko Thah-a. Their united labors were highly serviceable to the nearly prostrate cause of Christianity in that deluded city. Many native Christians, who had been scattered by the tumults of war and the rigors of persecution, returned to the city, and in the course of the year twenty were baptized and added to the church. Early in 1830, Mr. and Mrs. Wade removed to Rangoon, where they remained several months, instructing the newly-appointed ministers and strengthening the hold which Christianity was gradually establishing among the people. In the following May they were joined by Mr. Judson, who, in all the changes of his life, still lingered with tender solicitude over the spot where he first began to preach the gospel to the heathen.

This attempt to reëstablish the mission within that portion of the empire which had not been ceded to the English, was made with much apprehension and doubt. So stern was the frown which the emperor had cast upon all former endeavors to prop-

agate Christianity, that, though attracted by the favorable tidings from Rangoon, the missionaries did not venture to hope to obtain a permanent foothold in his dominions. They were, however, kindly received at Rangoon by the governor of the city, who had known Mr. Judson at Ava, and their residence began immediately to attract the attention of the people. The subordinate officers of the government and the priests exercised a perpetual vigilance, and often uttered complaints to the governor; but the people came in great numbers for copies of the Scriptures, and for religious tracts and books. Hundreds of these were often given away, in a single day, to those only who asked for them; and even then the demand was but imperfectly supplied. Large numbers of Burmans from the interior were at this time in Rangoon, and afforded to the missionaries unusual facilities for making known the gospel. Some were troops who had come for the purpose of enrolment and inspection. Many more were merchants who were travelling for the purposes of traffic from distant portions of the empire. Though watched by priests and officers and often warned not to go, yet multitudes of them would flock to the mission house, saying, "We have heard the fame of this religion, and are come to get books."

Nor was this, in most instances, an idle and transitory curiosity, that would allow them to throw the books aside and think of them no more. They read them with attention, and then bore them away to remote districts to be read by others, in connection with the strange tidings which were reported of the religion of the foreign teachers. Thus, as the missionaries ascertained by unequivocal testimony, were their earliest lessons of the gospel conveyed to multitudes of Burmans, who at later periods came to inquire more fully concerning the faith which they had imperfectly learned. The copy of the Gospels and the religious tracts borne in this manner to the dwelling of some thoughtful heathen, hundreds of miles from Rangoon, would be received as a writing from Heaven. It would be often read and its truths would be pondered, until at a future period their

true significance would break upon his mind and guide him to the Saviour of sinners. Many an instance of precisely this result might be gathered from the journals of missionary experience.

In the summer of 1830, Mr. Judson resolved on making an excursion up the Irrawaddy, for the purpose of visiting the towns along its banks. He had often sailed up and down this broad and beautiful stream, and had observed the crowded population of the cities and villages that line its banks; but he had never found an opportunity of preaching among them the religion of Christ. Taking with him the faithful assistant Mounng Ing and four other native Christians, he embarked again upon the stream over whose sparkling waters he had been borne so many times before, in the varied states of hope and disappointment, of sorrow and of joy, through which he had passed. The journey was marked by many striking incidents. He landed at many of the villages, where his presence was always hailed with eager interest. The people would assemble to hear him preach, and receive his books and tracts, which they seemed to read with unusual attention. He often beheld little groups gathered around some one better able to read than the rest, and listening to the reading of a tract or a Gospel, and when it was finished they would follow the missionary to his boat, or salute him from the shore, and ask for another writing.

Amidst incidents like these, occurring at every village, Mr. Judson pushed his journey up the Irrawaddy as far as Prome, a large and ancient city about midway between Rangoon and Ava. Here he took up his abode with an English gentleman, the only European resident of the city; for the people would not rent him a house, or a spot on which to build, so fearful were they of being suspected by the government of aiding foreigners again to come into the country. He at length obtained permission of the magistrates to take possession of an old zayat which stood near a pagoda, and those who came to the pagoda were soon attracted to the teachings of the missionary. Thus, beneath the shadow of this pagan temple, he daily pro-

claimed to the votaries of Gaudama the doctrines of Christ. Among the crowds who now came to the zayat at Prome, impelled by various motives, were often seen earnest inquirers, both from the city and the neighboring country, whose moral natures had been roused from the stupor of idolatry, and who listened with anxious attention to the words of the missionary. At length, however, they all suddenly disappeared. The zayat stood open as usual from morning till evening, but not a solitary Burman was attracted either by the conversation of the missionary, or by the impressive services of the daily evening worship.

The cause of this sudden cessation of visits Mr. Judson was for the time at a loss to understand. He learned after his return to Rangoon that the emperor, annoyed that he had ventured so far into the interior, and was distributing tracts and assailing the Burman religion in the very heart of its dominions, had given orders that he should be required to leave Prome and confine himself to Rangoon. The intelligence that such an order had been given was quite sufficient to account for the absence of visitors at the zayat. The woongyees, however, were unwilling to execute the order, and applied to Major Burney, who was then the British Resident at Ava, to interpose his authority and require him to depart from Prome. He assured them that Mr. Judson was in no way connected with the British government, but simply a teacher of religion, and that to drive him from Prome would be regarded by good men in all countries as an act of cruel intolerance. But the emperor's orders are never to be disobeyed, and are never changed, and Mr. Judson unconsciously escaped their execution in this instance only by his voluntary departure from Prome, when he returned to Rangoon in September, 1830. During this excursion he preached the gospel to thousands who had never before heard one of its precious truths. From some to whom he had preached he received assurances of the deepest interest in what he had told them, and many, he believed, had become so far enlightened that they never again could bend the knee in the temples of idolatry without remembering the great God whom he had proclaimed, and feeling that they were in the wrong way.

He returned to Rangoon more impressed than ever before, with the importance of hastening forward the translation of the entire Scriptures, a work in which he had already made considerable progress, but which he had hitherto postponed for the more pressing duties of the mission. He accordingly took a house, of which the lower part was principally assigned to the several native assistants for receiving company and distributing tracts, while he confined himself to the rooms above and gave his time to completing the translation of the Psalms, which he had commenced three years before. So numerous however were the visits of inquiring Burmans to the house, that although only the more serious and hopeful visiters were admitted to him, yet more than half his time was consumed in the interruptions to which he was daily subjected. It was in circumstances like these, while separated from the other members of the mission and dwelling alone with his Burman converts at Rangoon, that Mr. Judson accomplished a large part of his noble work of translating the Scriptures into the language of Burmah. In the fresh hour of morning and by the lonely lamp of midnight, he pursued his solitary task, cheered by no sympathies of society, but urged on by the sad spectacle of heathenism which lay around him. His close confinement and assiduous application to the work enfeebled his health, but he could not rest till it was finished. The Board of Managers sent him an invitation to return to the United States in order to recruit his health, but he chose to remain, that thus Burmah might sooner have the Bible in her own tongue.

The external condition of the mission, meanwhile, presented many features of the most encouraging character. The government, though still watchful and jealous and often urged to put a stop to his teachings, yet did not interpose its authority, and persons of every rank and condition, notwithstanding the threats of the priests and of others who opposed the new religion, daily came in small companies to the mission house to ask for tracts, to hear the Scriptures read, or to converse with the Christian converts whom they met there. The minds of

the people in different parts of the empire had now become strongly impressed with the accounts which had reached them concerning the religion of the strangers, and few came to Rangoon without inquiring for the teacher and seeking access to his conversations.

At the great Buddhist festival which was held at Rangoon in March, 1831, Mr. Judson had a favorable opportunity to judge of the interest which had been awakened by the labors of many years, and by the tracts and books which the press had sent forth through the land. The festival was in honor of Gaudama, and was celebrated with great pomp in the magnificent *Shwey Dagong pagoda*, which is held in peculiar reverence, since in it several real hairs of the divinity are believed to be enshrined. The occasion brought together a countless multitude from all quarters of the empire, — from every province of the interior, from the frontiers of Cassay, and even from the distant borders of China and Siam. From many of these remotest districts, persons came to Mr. Judson, saying, "Sir, we hear that there is an eternal hell, — we are afraid of it. Do give us a writing that will tell us how to escape it." Others, perhaps from opposite frontiers of the empire, would say to him with equal eagerness, "Sir, we have seen a writing that tells us about an eternal God. Are you the man that gives away such writings? If so, pray give us one, for we want to know the truth." Others still, from districts less remote, had heard the name of Jesus Christ, and asked, "Are you Jesus Christ's man? Give us a writing that tells about Jesus Christ." The number who came in this manner to the mission house, to ask for books or tracts or for some kind of religious instruction, he estimated at not less than six thousand, to all of whom he gave the writings which they desired, and, had the supply been sufficient, he might have given away twice the number without any apprehension of recklessness or waste.

In the summer of 1831, it was arranged that Mr. and Mrs. Wade should proceed to Bengal, and take passage to the United States in order to recruit the health of Mrs. Wade, which had

long been declining. Their departure made it necessary that Mr. Judson should return to Maulmain, to aid in managing the interests of that station, now the leading station in the mission. He arrived in July, and was delighted with the progress which the doctrines of the gospel had made during the thirteen months in which he had been absent. The mission had been strengthened by the arrival of Rev. Messrs. Mason, Kincaid and Jones, with their wives. Mr. Kincaid together with Mr. Bennett continued to reside at Maulmain, while Mr. Jones went to Rangoon to take the place of Mr. Judson. The little church had become considerably enlarged by the baptism of Burmans, Talings and Karens, and the press had multiplied copies of tracts, epitomes of the Old Testament and portions of the New Testament, to the amount of nearly two millions of pages. The missionaries had also extended their labors far into the neighboring jungle. They had made repeated journeys to distant villages of the Karens, and at different places had baptized twenty converts, fourteen of whom were formed into a separate church at a place which now received the name of Wadesville, in honor of the missionary who first preached there the truths of the gospel. In an account which Mr. Judson gave of the entire mission at the close of the year 1831, it is stated that the number who had been baptized during the year was in all two hundred and seventeen, — one hundred and thirty-six at Maulmain, seventy-six at Tavoy, and five at Rangoon. Of these, one hundred and nine were Karens, eighty-nine were Europeans, and nineteen were Burmans and Talings.

The ship in which Mr. and Mrs. Wade embarked for Calcutta was overtaken by a succession of violent gales, which drove them far from their course and obliged the captain to put into Kyouk Phyoo, a port on the coast of Arracan. Here they were kindly received by Colonel Wood, the military commandant, and finding that Mrs. Wade's health was greatly benefited by the change of air, they abandoned their design of returning to the United States. They remained at Kyouk Phyoo five or six weeks, an interval which Mr. Wade devoted to

preaching, or to conversation with the people in the town and the neighboring country, and distributing tracts and copies of the Scriptures. In September they returned to Maulmain, and Mrs. Wade's health being now reëstablished, they immediately proceeded, in accordance with the advice of their associates, to Mergui, the capital of a province of the same name, situated a hundred and fifty miles south of Tavoy. This place had been visited in 1827, by Ko Ing, who spent a considerable time in the service of the mission among its inhabitants. The residence of Mr. and Mrs. Wade continued but six months; during which time five persons were baptized and organized into a church, of which Ko Ing was appointed the pastor, — when the missionaries were summoned away to Rangoon, to take the place of Mr. Jones, who now removed to Siam, in order to commence a mission in that country.

Eighteen years had now elapsed since the mission was first established, amidst many discouragements, in the city of Rangoon. This crowded period had been marked by many painful and many joyous events, and we may well pause for a moment and consider what results had been accomplished through all these years of missionary labor and sacrifice. The growth of the mission had been slow but constant and healthy, and the aspect which it now presented was one which the churches in America might well contemplate with gratitude and joy. Its stations had been multiplied till, in addition to its original seat, it occupied three of the principal cities on that part of the coast which was embraced in the possessions of the English. The number of its missionaries had been increased to fourteen, seven males and seven females, besides several others who had been appointed, but had not yet arrived in the country. The number who had been baptized and admitted to the churches at the several stations was in all three hundred and ninety-three, of whom two hundred and eighty were natives, and one hundred and thirteen were foreigners, principally soldiers of the English regiments to whom the missionaries had preached while they were acquiring the language of the country. From the several

churches eleven had been excommunicated for unworthy conduct, and eleven had died in the profession of the Christian faith. The press had been kept in constant operation by Mr. Bennett, who, with such assistance as he was able to employ, had printed not less than two hundred thousand tracts and books, which had been widely circulated throughout the empire. The New Testament was now nearly complete, and many separate books and a full epitome of the Old Testament had already been printed.

At most of the stations schools had been established, in which were gathered, principally under the instruction of the ladies of the mission, the children of the native Christians, and all others who could be induced to join them; and far beyond the immediate vicinity in which the missionaries dwelt, and in which their *zayats* were opened, they had repeatedly gone on distant excursions, preaching from village to village, distributing to all who sought them tracts and copies of the Scriptures, and baptizing those who gave satisfactory evidence of piety and faith in Jesus Christ. In this manner there had been excited a spirit of earnest and curious inquiry, the proofs of which were constantly presenting themselves to the notice of the missionaries. Mr. Judson speaks of it as the most prominent feature of the mission at this period of its history, and, as he gazes upon the scene which lies around him, he expresses the solicitude of "a person who sees a mighty engine beginning to move, over which he knows he has no control." The gospel was beginning to address its solemn precepts and its glorious promises to the mind of the nation, and the ancient superstitions of the country seemed to be losing their power.

These results had been reported at the meetings of the Board and the Convention in the United States, and had awakened in the churches of the land the liveliest interest in the cause of foreign missions. The contributions to the treasury of the Convention had increased to the sum of \$22,600, nearly four times the amount with which the mission was originally established. The enterprise also had become the source of great spiritual

benefits to the denomination in America. It had united the interests and sympathies of a multitude of widely-scattered churches, and had offered to the whole body of American Baptists a common object of philanthropic effort and of glowing anticipation. The conception of giving the gospel to those who know it not, always ennobles the mind into which it enters,—and, animated by the spirit of the generous enterprise, the widow came with her mite, and rich men with their gifts, to contribute to the accomplishment of the magnificent design. The appeal which it made for the services of Christian laborers was responded to by several youthful candidates for the ministry, and at the close of the year 1831, not less than nine additional missionaries were ready to sail from the country, and join the ranks of the Burman Mission.

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS of the Mission from 1832 to 1835. — Mr. Judson devoted to Translating the Bible. — Resolutions of the Board at Salem. — Establishment of Out-Stations. — Christian Villages. — Excursions of Mr. Mason from Tavoy. — Great changes among the Karens. — Their Language reduced to Writing by Mr. Wade. — Mr. and Mrs. Wade obliged to sail for the United States. Arrival of new Companies of Missionaries. — Mr. Kincaid at Rangoon and at Ava. — Mr. Judson completes the Translation of the Bible. — Mr. and Mrs. Wade in the United States. — Results of their Visit. — Their Return with additional Missionaries. — Death of Miss Cummings.

THE period between the commencement of the year 1832 and the commencement of 1835 was marked by signal blessings bestowed on the labors of the missionaries, and by the continued growth of all the interests of the mission. So numerous, however, are the details, and so widely scattered are the scenes to which they relate, that the limits assigned to this narrative will admit only a rapid survey of their general character, with a brief sketch of the results which they were instrumental in producing.

Within this period five missionaries, with their wives and three unmarried female assistants, arrived in Burmah and entered upon their appointed labors. Several new stations were commenced, new enterprises for the extension of the gospel were set on foot, and results of the greatest importance were brought about in the general progress of the mission.

Mr. Judson, after his return to Maulmain in 1831, continued to give his attention, with as little interruption as possible, to the translation of the Scriptures into the Burman tongue, the great work to which he had already consecrated some of the best years of his life, and whose accomplishment was anticipated with the liveliest interest, alike by the Burman converts and by the friends of missions in every land. So assiduous were his labors, that by the end of the following year he was able to report to the Board that the New Testament had already passed through the press, and that, if his life and health were spared, he might reasonably expect to complete the translation of the entire Bible in two years more.

After Mr. Judson had completed the translation of the New Testament, in accordance with principles which he had already submitted to the Board, it became necessary for that body to fix upon some rules for the guidance of their missionaries in all their endeavors to translate the Scriptures into the languages of the heathen. Accordingly, at the annual meeting which was held at Salem in 1833, the following resolutions were adopted, as an expression of their views and those of their brethren, in relation to this important question.

"1. That the Board feel it to be their duty to adopt all prudent measures to give to the heathen the pure word of God in their own language; and to furnish their missionaries with all the means in their power to make the translations as exact a representative of the mind of the Holy Spirit as may be possible.

"2. That all the missionaries of the Board, who are or who shall be engaged in translating the Scriptures, be instructed to endeavor, by earnest prayer and diligent study, to ascertain the precise meaning of the original text; to express that meaning

as exactly as the nature of the languages into which they shall translate the Bible will permit, and to transfer no words which are capable of being literally translated."

Whatever copies of the Scriptures, or portions of the Scriptures, had hitherto been circulated by the missionaries, were furnished at the expense of the American Bible Society. This continued to be the case, even with Mr. Judson's translation, till the year 1836, when that society adopted a resolution "*to encourage only such versions as conform in the principle of their translation to the common English version.*" This resolution put an end to all appropriations from the American Bible Society for the translation and circulation of versions of the Scriptures made by Baptist missionaries, in accordance with the instructions which the Board had adopted three years before. In these circumstances, in April, 1837, was formed the American and Foreign Bible Society, the leading object of whose organization was to coöperate with the Board of Missions in promoting the translation and circulation of the Scriptures among the heathen. In the twelve years which have elapsed since its origin, the Board has received from this society upwards of one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, which have been appropriated to the publication and circulation of the Scriptures translated by the agency of the several missions. The sum which had already been contributed by the American Bible Society is about thirty thousand dollars.

Hitherto the churches which were connected with the mission had been planted almost exclusively in the larger towns, though many of the natives, both Burmans and Karens, who had been baptized, dwelt in the villages of the country, separated from each other and removed from the immediate care of the missionaries. Their scattered condition was productive of serious disadvantage to their own growth in Christian knowledge and piety, and became a source of great inconvenience and of much additional labor to those on whom they depended for instruction and guidance. It was accordingly determined that an attempt should be made to collect them together at central points easy

of access, in villages of their own, in which they might share each others' Christian sympathy, and enjoy the regular ministry and the appointed ordinances of the gospel, together with the incidental advantages of schools for their children. In 1832 Mr. Judson made two separate journeys into the jungle for the purpose of meeting the native converts and instructing the inquirers who might come to him, and in each of these journeys he selected the site and laid the foundation of a new Christian community. The first of these was not far from Wadesville, and was called Newville, where he gathered the disciples from the neighboring district into a separate church, and baptized twenty-five additional converts. The second was on the banks of the Salwen, sixty miles north of Maulmain, and received the name of Chummerah. Here a considerable number of the native Christians, principally Karens who had been scattered over the jungle, now took up their abode and were organized into a church, to which nineteen were added by baptism during the visit of the missionary. The foundations of both these little communities were laid with religious services, and the highest hopes were entertained that they would immediately become oases in the social waste around them, and prove at length nurseries of Christian civilization for the heathen of Burmah.

At about the same time, a still larger village was commenced in the province of Tavoy, on the banks of the Tenasserim, about two days' journey from the city. The Christians from Tshick-koo, Kan-tha, and seven other villages lying along the margin of the river, were assembled by Mr. Mason; the disadvantages of their situation were explained to them, and the proposal made, that they should abandon their present residences, and, with their families, form a community by themselves, in order that they might all be furnished with religious privileges and with schools for their children. The people gladly accepted the proposal, and a spot was selected whereon to build the new Christian town. The site was upon an eminence rising in the midst of a luxuriant plain of many miles in extent, and skirted in the distance by the blue mountains of Tavoy. It had

formerly been occupied with the dwellings of men, and was known as "the ancient city," but all tradition of its former inhabitants had utterly perished. A small mission house was immediately erected, and around it the dwellings of the natives soon began to appear, — still marked by rudeness and simplicity, yet presenting some attractive features of social comfort and dawning civilization. The new settlement was called *Matah*, or *City of Love*. It soon became the seat of a flourishing church and schools—the home of a Christian population; and now, after the lapse of fifteen years, in which the people have been constantly advancing in civilization, Matah presents a striking illustration of the astonishing change which the labors of the missionary accomplish in the manners and morals, in the lives and characters of the heathen. The Christian Karens who dwell here number upwards of three hundred; they have long ago abandoned the wandering habits of their race, and commenced the regular industry of agriculture and trade. Cleanliness, decency, and order mark their daily lives, and they are already beginning, from the products of their own labor, to support the schools which have been established, and the institutions of the gospel which have conferred on them such manifold blessings.*

This gathering of the Karen converts into separate communities was an undertaking of the utmost consequence to the civilization and religious culture of this interesting, but hitherto wild and wandering race of men. Scattered as they had been, and exposed to all the evil influences of barbarian life, even though they were converted to Christianity, their advancement in piety and Christian knowledge must always have been slow and uncertain. The religion of the Bible enjoins its highest duties and confers its richest blessings only upon man in a social state. The scattered dwellers of the mountain, or the

* Matah, and the other Karen villages under the care of the missionaries, were visited by Rev. Dr. Malcom in 1836. For a description of them, see Malcom's Travels, Vol. I., p. 41, et seq.

unsettled wanderers of the wilderness, can but feebly comprehend the true significance or appreciate the real excellence of the gospel; and, notwithstanding all the moral sensibility which seems inherent in the mind of the Karens, it were vain to expect them to make much progress as a Christian people, until they have abandoned their wandering habits and settled in communities which admit the practice of the social virtues. The towns which were begun at this period, though they have not all proved permanent, have been productive of great advantage to the mission. Many others have since been established, and the traveller amid those hitherto desolate regions now beholds the germs of civilized society springing up beneath the gentle influences of Christian truth.

In all the cities where stations had been established the zayats and schools were constantly visited by people from the country, who often expressed the utmost interest in the new faith, and bore ample testimony to the impression which its promulgation was producing in the distant jungles from which they came. In Tavoy the labors of the missionaries were now confined almost entirely to the Karens. These people, alike in the city and the country, had from the beginning received the gospel far more readily than the Burmans, and in their visits to Mr. Mason often solicited him to go out and preach in the villages of the interior, where many Christian converts were living. Accordingly, early in 1832, he started with two native assistants on a missionary excursion to the settlements which lie south-east of Tavoy. They were the settlements to which Mr. Boardman had made one of his earliest visits in the jungle. The journey at first was along an unfrequented route, and through a region marked by scenery of striking grandeur and beauty. Of the people whom he met a few had heard Mr. Boardman preach, and some had obtained tracts which they had read and thought upon; but the greater part were utterly indifferent to the teachings of the missionary. At the end of a month, he came to the villages under the jurisdiction of MOUNG SO, the interesting chief who ~~had~~ early visited the missionaries at Tavoy. The

tidings of his approach reached the Christian Karens, and they came forth in troops to welcome him. He beheld with astonishment the change which had been wrought in their condition since they first listened to the gospel from the lips of Mr. Boardman. As he talks with them of the truths of Christianity, as he enters their dwellings and receives their hospitality, as he looks upon the fruits of their industry, and breathes the spirit of their well-ordered life, he records with enthusiasm the feelings that possess his mind. "I no longer date," he writes, "from a heathen land. Heathenism has fled these banks. I eat the rice and potatoes and fruit cultivated by Christian hands, look on the fields of Christians, and see no dwellings but those of Christian families. I am seated in the midst of a Christian village, surrounded by a people that love as Christians, converse as Christians, act like Christians, and in my eyes look like Christians."

Similar excursions were frequently made by Mr. Mason to the scattered residences of the recent converts as well as to the Christian villages of the Karens, in the course of which he usually found some who were ready to be baptized, and often met with persons who referred their change of religious belief and character back to the early instructions of Mr. Boardman, or to some book of the Scriptures in the Burman language which had been given them to read. Though generally received with kindness and hospitality, he was yet sometimes repulsed with rudeness from the dwellings even of the Karens, especially of those who had become Buddhists and identified themselves with the religion of the country. His journal records occasional instances of opposition, in which he was left to spend the night in the open air, because none would admit him to their dwellings, or in which, when he began to speak of Christianity, they refused to hear him, and begged him to depart from their village. This opposition he was often able to overcome by the interest he manifested in their physical comfort, or by his attention to the sick and the efficiency of the simple remedies which he prescribed for their recovery. Thus, like the early apostles, does

the missionary make himself all things to all men, that by all means he may be enabled to save those to whom he is sent.

In addition to the scattered and unsettled condition of the Karens, the missionaries, as their attention was directed to this people, encountered another difficulty at the very threshold of their undertaking. The Karen language had never been reduced to writing, and without a written language they could be expected to make but little progress either in Christian culture or in civilization. Mr. Wade had been the longest engaged in the study of the spoken dialects which were in use among them. In February, 1832, having gone to Maulmain for the benefit of his health, which was seriously impaired, he was again brought in contact with the Karen population, and immediately resumed the careful study of their language. With such aid as he could derive from Christian Karens who had learned to read Burman or Taling, he ascertained the elements of which it is composed, and soon arranged them in an alphabet made up, with the exception of only two letters, of Burman or of Taling characters. By the month of August of the same year he had completed a spelling book containing about fifteen hundred radical words, and also made a translation of Mrs. Judson's Burman Catechism and of the Scripture precepts comprised in the "View of the Christian Religion." The spelling book was immediately put to press and introduced into the schools of the Karens, and the comprehensiveness of the new alphabet was fully tested by writing out an ancient Karen poem, which was contained in the oral traditions of the people. The poem, to the surprise of the missionary, was found to contain an account of the creation of the world, of "man in a state of innocency, and his fall by partaking of the forbidden fruit through the suggestions of Satan, just as related in the Bible."*

Mr. Wade having accomplished this important work for the Karen department of the mission, was again attacked with that

* These and other similar coincidences led at one time to the supposition that the Karens may be of Hebrew origin. — *American Baptist Magazine*, vol. 13, p. 201.

depressing malady, the liver complaint, which had already within the year caused frequent interruptions to his labors. After having tried every remedy short of a change of climate, he sailed for the United States at the close of the summer of 1832, and arrived in the following May. He was accompanied by Mrs. Wade and by two native Christians — Moung Shway Moung, a Burman, and Ko Chet-thing, a Karen.

The absence of Mr. and Mrs. Wade at a time when the stations of the mission had become so numerous, imposed additional burdens upon the missionaries, and, in consequence of the changes which it made necessary, delayed the execution of many important plans. Mr. Cutter, a printer, had already joined the mission, and brought with him a power-press, which, under the direction of Mr. Bennett, he prepared to set in immediate operation at Maulmain. But before he had become acquainted with the new language he was to print, his instructor and guide, Mr. Bennett, was obliged to abandon the care of the press and go and occupy the station at Rangoon, which Mr. Kincaid had left vacant in order to visit Ava. Mr. Judson spent several months at Chummerah, instructing the converts there, though still prosecuting, as assiduously as he was able, his chosen work of translating the Bible ; while Mr. Mason, left alone at Tavoy, was charged with the whole duties of that large and growing station, and with the additional care of the Karen villages that were scattered among the mountains. Thus, pressed with duties greater than they could perform, they were obliged to listen to many a call for religious instruction which they could not answer, and to pass unheeded many an attractive spot in the wide field around them, which they would have been glad to occupy and cultivate. They had already, several months before, addressed to the Board of Managers and their brethren in America an earnest appeal for additional missionaries, and they were waiting with anxious interest the arrival of those who were now far on their voyage to the shores of Burmah.

The first of January, 1833, was a glad day for the members of the mission, for it witnessed the arrival of four missionaries

of whose appointment they had already received notice, and of whose labors they were now in unusual need. These were Rev. Thomas Simons, Mr. Royal B. Hancock, a printer, with his wife, and Miss Sarah Cummings, a lady experienced in teaching, who was to be employed as instructress at one of the stations. In the following June the mission was still further strengthened by the arrival of Rev. Messrs. Brown and Webb, with their wives, and Miss C. J. Harrington, afterwards Mrs. Simons, — all of whom, after spending the remainder of the year in studying the language at Maulmain, removed together to Rangoon in January, 1834. The former of these missionary companies brought with them two additional printing presses, one large standing press, a large fount of English types, and all the materials for a type foundry. The arrangements for printing were now complete, and fully adequate to the wants of the mission. A strong house of brick, sufficiently large for the accommodation of the several presses now at Maulmain, was immediately erected, and the great work was commenced of multiplying copies of the Scriptures and tracts in Burman, Taling and Karen, which have since been scattered to the remotest parts of the empire, and have communicated to multitudes of minds their first lessons of gospel truth.

The arrival of these missionaries revived the drooping spirits of their brethren, and imparted new energy to all departments of the mission. The tidings which they brought of awakening zeal and growing philanthropy among the churches of America, were fitted to encourage the missionary in his solitary toils, and bring him in nearer sympathy with the scenes and the friends of his native land. The effect was obvious in all the interests of the mission, and is often mentioned in the journals which at this period record its history.

Mr. Kincaid had now penetrated the heart of Burmah Proper, and we turn to a brief review of his labors and those of his associates at the exposed and perilous stations of Rangoon and Ava. The scene which is here presented is that of a people crushed to the earth beneath the combined oppressions of super-

stition and despotism. No British power is here exerted to secure the safety of the unprotected missionary. The shrines of heathenism are jealously guarded by imperial authority. Despotism frowns darkly over the land, and priestly persecution is constantly watching for those who dare desert the superstitions of their ancestors. Yet the intrepid missionary toils bravely on, blessed with the favor of Heaven, and encouraged by many unexpected manifestations of an awakening spirit of inquiry among the deluded votaries of Buddhism.

Mr. Kincaid first went to Rangoon early in the spring of 1832, at about the time of Mr. Wade's arrival there from Mergui and Maulmain. They called on the viceroy a few days after their arrival, and presented him with a map of the world, lettered in Burman characters, and other works relating to geography, chronology and astronomy. He received them with courtesy and expressed much interest in the map, which was the first he had seen in Burman letters. What, however, particularly excited his curiosity was the account which he had heard respecting the printing press; he wished to know if it was true that it could multiply copies of a writing without limit; and after inquiring the price of a press, he requested the missionaries to order one for him. The schools which had been established by Mr. Jones continued to flourish under the care of Mr. Kincaid; and though he was yet unable to preach in the Burman tongue, he constantly maintained many of the public services of the mission by the aid of his native assistants. At the close of the year he went to Madras, where he was married to Miss Barbara McBain, daughter of a military officer in the service of the East India Company. During his absence the two teachers to whom he had entrusted the schools and the other concerns of the mission were seized, by order of an inferior officer of the government notorious for his hostility to Christianity, fined and imprisoned, and afterwards whipped in a shocking manner. This act of malignant violence was the means of breaking up the schools, and for the time of intimi-

dating all the inquirers who had frequented the zayat and expressed an interest in the new religion.

On his return to Rangoon, notwithstanding these unfavorable occurrences, Mr. Kincaid was soon visited by persons in various conditions of life, who often came in great numbers, some from the city and others from distant provinces, to ask him questions and to hear him converse. Some of them would confess their belief in the Eternal God; others would say they had long been reading the books and thinking about Christianity, exclaiming, "It is wonderful!" — "A great light that is visiting the world." At the period of the famous annual festival of Gaudama, the visitors grew still more numerous; not all to inquire concerning religion, but many to ask about the truths of science, or the operations of the printing press; and when they obtained some dim idea of the nature and results of the press, they exclaimed, "How ignorant the Burmans are! They do not know any thing." In February, 1833, three Burmans were baptized; others had requested baptism, but it was thought best to delay its administration on account of the vigilance of the Burman officers. Many more were known to be secret believers in Christianity, who did not dare openly to express the faith which they cherished.

The visitors who came to the zayat from the interior had often said to Mr. Kincaid, "Why do you not go to Ava and to all the great cities of the empire? Many have heard of the new religion and the books, and wish to understand them." Since the death of Dr. Price none of the missionaries had visited the capital, though the desirableness of maintaining a station there had been frequently forced upon their attention. It had long been deemed unsafe for Mr. Judson to appear there, on account of his supposed connection with the English conquest of the country, but there was no reason to apprehend that serious molestation would be offered to any other missionary who should conduct his labors with prudence. In these circumstances it was decided that Mr. Kincaid should go to Ava, and attempt again to plant a station there should no absolute hinderance be

offered on his arrival. Having obtained the requisite *pass* with great difficulty from the viceroy, he left Rangoon on the 6th of April, 1833, accompanied by Mrs. Kincaid and her sister and three native assistants, carrying with him 17,000 tracts and a large number of copies of the Gospels of Luke and John, of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. Their passage up the Irrawaddy was beset with dangers, yet marked by many occurrences of great interest, illustrative of the singular spirit of inquiry which, in spite of all dread either of the government or the priesthood, seemed every where to pervade the minds of the people. They landed at nearly three hundred towns and villages along the banks of the stream, and in nearly every place which they visited they found some traces of the influence which had been exerted by the native Christians, by tracts and books or other agencies connected with the mission.

They arrived at Ava on the 30th of May, where a very different spirit seemed at first to array itself in opposition to their plans. Mr. Kincaid was greatly perplexed with the difficulty of finding a house in which he could dwell with his family, even for the briefest period. His application to the government was answered by repeated delays, made on the most trivial pretences; and, on his taking possession of a house without the permission of the authorities, he was subjected to the gravest insolence and violence by the assaults of a mob headed by the king's physician, to whom the house had been assigned on the death of its proprietor. At length the British Resident, regarding Mrs. Kincaid and her sister as English subjects, addressed a strong remonstrance to the woongyees, who, now thoroughly alarmed at their conduct, immediately provided the missionaries with a house in the midst of the city, and punished the physician who had threatened them with violence. Thus was a branch of the mission again established in the proud capital where in other days the religion of the Saviour had been deliberately rejected, and where its dauntless heralds had endured the most cruel sufferings.

Mr. Kincaid had resided here but a short time, engaged in

the distribution of books and the usual occupations of a missionary, when he began to witness manifestations of the same eager spirit of inquiry of which he had met with so many indications at Rangoon and along the Irrawaddy. In his journal of July 17 he writes: "The very thing that ought to rejoice me often troubles me; it is the numbers that are flocking to the verandah to read and to hear the word of God. If I would, I could not resist the tide that is setting in. Our verandah is pretty well filled during the day, and sometimes forty or fifty come in at a time." He was treated with civility by the officers of the government, and was invited to visit the prince, Mekara, who was a man of education and able to speak English. The prince held a long conversation with him, and asked him for several books of science.

The verandah of Mr. Kincaid was now daily visited by persons of all classes, to the number often of one or two hundred, who engaged in discussions with the missionary and the native assistants, taking sides for or against the new religion with such zeal as made him fear they might excite the jealousy of the government. Two persons were at length baptized, — one of them a priest, a man of eminent learning, who had long been one of the most popular preachers of Buddhism in Ava. His conversion to Christianity was known throughout the city, but, to the surprise of the missionaries, it did not provoke persecution or excite opposition. The supply of books and tracts which Mr. Kincaid had brought with him was now exhausted; and, as the king had expressed a curiosity about the operations of the printing press, he sent to Maulmain for Mr. Cutter to come up to Ava and bring with him one of the presses. The plan being approved by the members of the mission, Mr. Cutter set out for the capital, and arrived early in January, 1834. The press was immediately put in operation, and the printing of tracts commenced, and two other places of preaching were opened in different parts of the city, to which hundreds resorted every day.

The establishment of the press at Ava, and the interest with which the preaching and the books of the missionaries were

regarded by the people, at length called forth the interference of the government. At first, they were only forbidden to circulate a particular tract, called "The Investigator." In the following March, however, they were summoned before the high court of the empire, and formally questioned concerning their objects and employment in Ava. These they fully avowed and vindicated, on grounds which Mounng Zah, the minister, did not choose to debate; for he closed the audience by saying, "Rangoon and Maulmain are very good places, — go there." While they were waiting in hourly expectation of a written order to depart, Major Burney, the British Resident, interposed in their behalf, and the fear in which the authority of England was held induced the minister to say that he only objected to their living in the city. They accordingly immediately took up their abode in a house without the gates, but continued, with no farther interruption from the government and with but little abatement of the interest of the people, the accustomed labors of the mission.

The exhibition of curiosity and earnest inquiry concerning the truths of Christianity which Mr. Kincaid was constantly witnessing, is a remarkable phenomenon in the mission at this period of its history. It seemed like the waking of the popular mind to the light of Christian truth, — the commencement of a mighty and speedy revolution in the religion of the country. But though hundreds were ready to admit the doctrines of the gospel, and expressed their utter contempt of the teachings of Buddhism, yet, with few exceptions, they came to no positive conclusion, made no progress, and failed to reach the kingdom of heaven. They created in the missionaries hopes which were never realized, and gave promise of spiritual fruits which were never borne. Yet while so few embraced the religion of Christ, it cannot be doubted that many a mind relinquished forever its belief in the superstitions of Gaudama, and it may be that some, whose history was never known to the missionaries, silently accepted the faith of the gospel and trusted in the Saviour whom it offers.

On the 31st of January, 1834, Mr. Judson wrote the last page of his translation of the Bible into the Burman tongue. It was the noble task which he had prosecuted amidst the changes of many years, often in solitude, in sickness and in sorrow; and now that it was completed, he dedicated it with pious gratitude and an humble sense of its imperfections to the service and the glory of God. The scene, as incidentally mentioned in his journal, is one of affecting interest and grandeur. Poets, historians and moralists have all recorded the feelings of exultation with which they have completed some work which they imagined "the world would not willingly let die." But the missionary retires alone, and with the last leaf of his imperishable work in his hand, he prays for the forgiveness of Heaven on all the sins that have mingled with his labors, and devoutly commends it to the mercy and grace of God, to be used as an instrument in converting the heathen to Himself. Thus was the greatest of blessings conferred on the people of Burmah, and in its uncultivated soil was planted the tree of life whose perennial leaves shall be for the healing of the nation. The translation received the emendations and corrections of its author, and has been pronounced by scholars and philologists acquainted with the Burman tongue, to be unusually accurate and perfect,—well fitted to transmit to successive generations the unadulterated word of God. The entire Bible was put immediately to press, and handsome appropriations were made by the American Bible Society to aid its publication.

In the following April, Mr. Judson was married to Mrs. Sarah H. Boardman, who since the death of her husband had been constantly engaged in the service of the mission, and attached to the station at Tavoy. The school which she here conducted with unusual success for many years, was for a time suspended on her removal to Maulmain, but was resumed by Mrs. Wade after her return from America.

As has been already mentioned, Mr. and Mrs. Wade, with their native companions, arrived in the United States in May, 1833. Mr. Wade's health was greatly benefited by the voyage,

but it was deemed advisable by the Board that his visit to the country should be prolonged, and made tributary as far as possible to the interests of the mission. He was accordingly requested to visit, with his missionary companions, the principal cities of the Union, and attend the meetings of Associations and other public bodies of the denomination. It had also been frequently suggested that as the Burman language had now been made comparatively easy of acquisition, our missionaries might acquire it before sailing from the country, and thus materially abridge the time requisite for preparation after their arrival. There were now eight persons who had received appointments as missionaries to the East and were waiting to proceed to the places of their destination; and the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Wade in this country, with two intelligent natives, furnished a favorable opportunity for making the experiment which had been proposed. The Board accordingly resolved immediately to open a mission school at Hamilton, N. Y.; — a place already consecrated to theological studies, and presenting to the newly-appointed missionaries many advantages of congenial society and literary companionship. It was commenced on the 20th of June, 1833, and continued nine months. It was attended by eight students, who under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Wade, aided by the native teachers, pursued the study of Burman and Karen with the most gratifying success.

In addition to their duties at the school, Mr. and Mrs. Wade made an excursion to Ohio in the autumn of 1833, and attended a large convention of the Baptists of the Western States at Cincinnati; and in the following spring they travelled with the corresponding secretary of the Board to Georgia, and visited in the course of their journey most of the cities of the Atlantic States. At Augusta, in Georgia, they met the Rev. Evan Jones of the Cherokee Mission, and with him two converted Cherokees, who were also ordained ministers, and who were now presented to the Burman and the Karen. The spectacle was one of rare and extraordinary interest. It was the first time in the history of the world that representatives of these ancient aborig-

inal races, dwelling on opposite sides of the globe, had met together in the sympathies of a common faith, and joined in common acts of Christian worship, — a beautiful emblem of the Christian church, uniting in its wide embrace people of every tribe and kindred and tongue under the whole heaven.

The visit of Mr. and Mrs. Wade to their native land, though productive of temporary interruptions in the immediate labors and plans of the mission, was attended with many most beneficial results, which were seen in the deeper interest and the larger contributions of the churches. They were welcomed by their brethren in America as persons who had suffered much in the cause of Christian truth, and by whose labors many heathen had been turned to righteousness; and the two native converts who were with them — the first who had visited this country from the East — were every where regarded with the utmost interest. Their presence placed near at hand the distant scenes of missionary labor; their simple-hearted piety and correct Christian views won the admiration of all who saw them, and rendered more earnest the desires of American Christians to give the gospel to the entire nations to which they respectively belonged.

The missionaries, with their interesting companions, sailed from Boston on the 2d of July, 1834; and with them Rev. Messrs. Howard, Vinton, Dean, and Comstock, and Mr. Osgood, a printer, with their wives, and Miss Ann P. Gardner, a member of Mr. Wade's family, who was to be employed as a teacher, — in all fifteen persons; by far the largest missionary company which had ever embarked under the auspices of the Board. They were all destined for the Burman and Karen mission, with the exception of Mr. Dean, who had been assigned to the mission in Siam. The ship, thus freighted with messengers of mercy to the heathen, arrived safely at Amherst, December 6th, 1834; and the missionaries, more fully acquainted with the language and customs of the country than any who had preceded them, entered immediately upon the labors that awaited them at the several stations to which they had been assigned.

In August, 1834, Miss Sarah Cummings, the only missionary occupant of the station at Chummerah, died at Maulmain of a fever which she had taken in the jungle. Her brief career was one of singular zeal and devotion to the service of the mission. Soon after her arrival, before she had acquired the language, taking with her the Burman teacher whom she had engaged, she went out to occupy the secluded station which had then just been planted in the wilderness. Here, at a distance of sixty miles from the nearest habitation of civilized men, she dwelt alone for a year and a half, studying the language, superintending the school, and, even before she could converse with the people about her, by her presence and activity winning their confidence, and imparting energy and order to all the operations of the station. When seized with the fever that prevailed in the jungle she hastened to Maulmain, where she died amidst the tender assiduities and affectionate watchings of the missionaries, — a victim, it may be apprehended, to the self-sacrificing though unguarded zeal which led her to this comfortless and unhealthy out-post of the mission.

After her death, the Christians at Chummerah were long without a teacher, except the native assistants who dwelt among them. They were once visited, for a brief season, by Mr. and Mrs. Vinton; but in 1836, in accordance with the habits of their race, they abandoned the town and scattered themselves among the villages of the district, settling principally at the village of Ko Chet-thing, where they have continued to reside with greater contentment and more gratifying social improvement.

CHAPTER XIII

MEETING of the Convention at Richmond in 1835. — Rev. H. Malcom visits the Missions. — Comparative Results among the Burmans and among the Karens. — Modes of Life and of Labor adopted by the Missionaries. — Multiplication of Schools. — Theological School at Tavoy and at Maulmain. — Growth of the Karen Mission in British Burmah. — Agency of the Press. — Station at Dong yahn. — State of the Mission in Burmah Proper. — Persecution at Rangoon. — Arrival of Messrs. Vinton, Abbott, and Howard at Rangoon. — Mr. Kincaid at Ava. — His attempt to visit the Shyan States. — Civil War in Burmah. — Missionaries leave the Country. — Return of Messrs. Abbott and Kincaid. — Joined by Mr. Simons. — Labors among the Karens. — Final Departure of Missionaries from Rangoon in 1840.

THE eighth triennial meeting of the General Convention was held at Richmond, Va., on the 29th of April, 1835. No meeting of this body had before been held so far in the South, and its members came together from different portions of the Union, with an earnestness of feeling and of hope greater than had ever before been exhibited. The extent and variety of the missionary labors, and the gratifying results which they had produced, were set forth in the report of the Board of Managers, and filled the minds of the Convention with the most animating and encouraging views of the progress of the cause in which they were engaged. The sympathies excited by the occasion were strengthened and enlarged by the presence of the Rev. Messrs. Cox and Hoby, delegates from the English Baptist Union, who had been sent to the Convention for the purpose of establishing more intimate relations between the Baptist churches and associations in the two countries. The generous donations which for several years had been annually made to the Convention by the American Bible and Tract Societies, to aid in the extension of the gospel, were gratefully acknowledged in the report of the Managers; and in the fulness of confidence and hope with which the whole body was now animated, resolutions were adopted, directing the Board to en

large their operations, and to employ every properly-qualified missionary, whose services could be obtained; and the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was mentioned as the anticipated revenue for the current year. For reasons which were assigned in the report, it was determined to increase the number of executive officers of the Board, — to associate another secretary with Rev. Dr. Bolles, who had hitherto performed the duties of the office alone. In the following year, the new arrangement was completed by the election of Rev. Solomon Peck as Assistant Secretary.

The proceedings of the meeting at Richmond, though characterized by unusual harmony and Christian feeling, were yet founded on too sanguine expectations. The Convention reckoned too confidently on its ability to enlarge the field of its missionary operations, and a debt which embarrassed the treasury for many years was the result of its well-meant though incautious resolutions.

In the autumn of 1835, the Board appointed one of their number, Rev. Howard Malcom, to visit their missions in Asia, in order, by personal observation, to ascertain the condition of the several stations, to confer with the missionaries respecting their labors, and in general to collect such information pertaining to missions, as might enable the Board more wisely to dispense the sacred charities intrusted to their management, and more effectually to promote the spread of the gospel among the heathen.

He sailed from the United States in September, 1835, in company with fourteen missionaries, male and female, designated to the several missions of the Board in Asia. In March, 1838, he returned to the country, after an absence of two years and six months, — during which he journeyed by land and by sea more than 53,000 miles. He visited all the missions under the direction of the Convention in Burmah, Arracan, Siam and China, and assisted in planting a new mission among the Telogoos, on the shores of Southern India. He also became acquainted with the missionaries of other Chris-

tian denominations in the East, visited them at their stations, and informed himself respecting their different modes of labor and their success. The arduous and protracted service attached to such a deputation was performed by Mr. Malcom in a manner that received the approbation of the Board; and the results of his wide and varied observations have been communicated to the public in the volumes of "Travels in South Eastern Asia" which he has published:—a work written in an exceedingly pleasant manner, and filled with valuable information concerning the countries in which the missions are established, and with striking exemplifications of the results which the propagation of the gospel has already accomplished, and is destined yet to accomplish among the heathen.

On the return of Mr. Malcom, in 1838, he was elected Financial Secretary of the Board. Mr. Peck was at the same time elected the Corresponding Secretary for the Foreign Department, and Dr. Bolles, the senior Secretary, was assigned to what was now denominated the Home Department, of the executive arrangements of the Convention.

Though the mission in Burmah has accomplished results of the most gratifying character, yet the narrative contained in the foregoing pages fully shows that these results have not been such as were originally anticipated by its founders and friends. They had in view the Burman people, but it is not upon them that the mission has bestowed its greatest blessings. Though it has not at any time wholly failed of its primal design, it has lately won its noblest and most signal triumphs, not among the Burmans, but among the obscure and oppressed Karens,—a down-trodden and subjugated race, of whose existence even, the missionaries were scarcely aware when they first landed in the country. These simple dwellers in the mountains and jungles of Burmah, coming forth timorously from the obscurity in which they hid themselves, listened to the message of the missionary, and received it gladly, as the realization of the predictions which had descended from the prophets of an elder age. From village to village the tidings had been carried, either by the visits of the

teacher or his disciples, or by the vague rumor of the wandering Karens, till hundreds of them had received the gospel and been baptized in the name of Jesus Christ;—while their Burman oppressors turned haughtily away, and clung with greater tenacity to the absurd dogmas of their atheistic idolatry. At each of the principal stations were now several missionaries entirely devoted to the instruction and care of the Karens. The converts from among them were gathered in separate churches, separate schools were established for their instruction, and their hitherto unwritten language required peculiar and special study, with types and printing arrangements quite distinct from those of the Burman tongue. It was found to exist in two dialects, having many roots in common, though differing in construction, and spoken by two separate divisions of the race—the *Syans* and *Pyhs* or *Pwos*. Mr. Wade, before his visit to the United States, had reduced to writing the former of these dialects, and on his return he performed the same work for the dialect of the Pwos, and, assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Mason, commenced the preparation of tracts and the translation of portions of the Bible in both these languages. The Burman character, with some modifications, was preferred by Mr. Wade in writing and printing Karen, though the Roman letters have been recommended by many considerations, and have often been adopted by other missionaries in the reduction of oriental tongues.

The modes of life and of labor adopted by the members of the mission at this period, were such as were forced upon them by the circumstances of their situation, and the nature of the objects they aimed to accomplish. Year followed year, comparatively without striking events, yet each bringing with it new interests to be cared for, new labors to be performed, and new difficulties to be overcome. The routine of duties to which the missionaries were principally devoted still consisted in preaching through the cities and villages, in superintending the schools which were now becoming numerous and important, in translating the Scriptures and preparing books for the people, and in

directing the operations of the several presses under their charge. During the rainy months of the year they were restricted to the cities and large towns in which the principal stations were established, and there they were constantly engaged in the labors mentioned above. But around each of these stations were clustered, at various distances, out-stations and Christian villages, at which churches and schools had been established, and placed under the immediate care of the native assistants and pastors. So soon as the wet season was ended, they left their homes and went forth to the distant settlements that skirted the field of their operations,—travelling in litters or on foot far across the jungle, or embarking in boats upon the winding river, to meet the Christian congregations, who, with their native pastors, were awaiting the annual visit of the missionary. His arrival was every where hailed with gratitude and joy. He examined the converts who were ready for baptism, and often administered to them the sacred rite; he instructed the pastors and their flocks in the true discipline of a church, and in the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel; corrected their errors, settled their doubts, strengthened their principles and their hopes, and thus built them up in the faith of the gospel.

Every journey thus made by the missionaries would usually lead to the establishment of additional out-stations, and to the wider extension of the field embraced by the mission. The journals in which the incidents of these itineracies are recorded, can alone set forth the proofs which were constantly presented of the wide extent to which the spirit of religious inquiry had now spread among the settlements of the Karens. Wherever the missionaries went, they found that tidings of the faith they taught had gone before them, and they seldom entered a district, however remote or untravelled, in which there were not some who professed to be worshippers of the living God. The observations and facts recorded at this period in the journals of Mr. Vinton at Maulmain, of Messrs. Wade and Mason at Tavoy, and especially of Messrs. Webb, Abbott and Howard, in their excursions from Rangoon to the out-stations of Bassein, Pan-

tanau and Maubee, are sufficient of themselves to show how far from being in vain had been the vicissitudes of labor and peril, of sorrow and trial, through which the mission had passed.

Schools were established almost at the commencement of the mission at each of the principal, and at several of the minor stations. The care of these at first devolved to a great extent upon the female missionaries, whose first aim was to train up pupils of superior talents and energy, to become assistants and at length teachers in the schools. Their number and their importance had been constantly increasing. The regular day schools at Tavoy and Maulmain were now in part supported by allowances from the East India Company, and the instructions given in them were no longer confined to the simplest rudiments of knowledge, but comprised the study of English and of the languages of the country, together with arithmetic, geography and other common branches of education. Several boarding schools were opened, for both Burmans and Karens who came from a distance in the interior, in which the pupils were under the constant care of the missionaries. In the schools supported by the government, the direct teaching of Christianity was not sanctioned by the colonial officers who had them in charge; but in the other schools, and especially in the boarding schools, it formed of course a part of the system of instruction, and exerted the happiest influences upon the characters of the pupils. Thus by the lessons of science as well as by the teachings of religion, did the missionaries seek to reclaim the minds of the young from the vain superstitions of their fathers, and to direct them to the beautiful forms of Christian truth. Many of the pupils of the Karen schools have been converted to Christianity; and the faith of many more in the doctrines of Gaudama must have been irrecoverably shaken.

In addition to the schools above mentioned, a seminary was established at Tavoy in 1836, for instructing native converts of suitable talents and characters, in the doctrines of Christianity, in order that they might thus prepare to preach the gospel to their countrymen. It was placed at first under the charge of

Mr. Wade, and commenced in May with eighteen pupils, — of whom twelve were Karens, five were Burmans and Peguans, and one was a Hindoo. The first session closed in July, when the students were subjected to an examination in the portions of the Bible in which they had been instructed. In 1837, Mr. Wade's health was again seriously impaired, and at the close of the year the school at Tavoy was suspended. The Burman pupils attached to it were removed to Maulmain, — where, in 1838, a school especially for Burmans was established and placed under the charge of Rev. Edward A. Stevens, a young missionary whose education had been conducted with special reference to this department of labor.

So marked is the difference of races in Burmah that it has generally been found expedient to have separate schools, and as far as possible separate churches, for each of the different races to whom the labors of the mission have extended. Schools have accordingly been established at the principal stations, for the Burmans, the Karens, the Eurasians, or half-castes, and the Peguans* or Talings. These last are a people entirely distinct from the Burmans in every thing but religion. They are the feeble remnants of a race that once subdued and overran the country, but who were soon driven back by the Burmans under Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty. They are very numerous in the neighborhood of Maulmain and Amherst, and at the latter place a station, designed especially for them, was planted in 1836, and placed under the charge of Rev. Mr. Haswell. Before this time, the Peguans had often awakened the interest of the missionaries, as they saw them mingled with the congregations of Burmans or Karens to whom they preached in the zayat or the chapel, and attempts had been repeatedly made to master their language. Mrs. Judson, after her removal to Maulmain, with characteristic energy and zeal devoted herself to its acquisition, and translated and caused to be published

* See Memoir of Mrs. Sarah B. Judson, chap. 12. Dr. Malcom estimates the number of the Peguans in Burmah at 70,000.

in Peguan several tracts, her own compilations of the Life of Christ, and a considerable portion of the New Testament. On the arrival of Mr. Haswell, she surrendered to him her labor and the fruits it was already promising, and returned to the appropriate duties of her own station, having performed a task of great difficulty and importance which no other member of the mission was then able to accomplish.

Nearly every year had witnessed the enlargement of the means of multiplying copies of the Scriptures, and other books, which the missionaries prepared for the instruction of the people. The books used by the Karens and the Peguans at first were in manuscript; but by the close of 1837 fonts of type were prepared in each of the Karen dialects, and thousands of copies of books for learning the Karen and Peguan languages, as well as of tracts and portions of the Scriptures, were immediately published. The printing operations were carried on principally at Maulmain, though many of the Karen books were printed at Tavoy, and a press had been employed at Rangoon, and one at Ava. In 1838 four new presses were added to the station at Maulmain and one to that at Tavoy, making ten in all connected with the mission, together with a very large supply of materials for printing.* The natives speaking the several languages soon acquired the art of printing them, and were successfully employed by the missionaries in the labors of the press. Societies were also formed at Tavoy and at Maulmain, which received contributions from the converts, both native and English, and from English officers resident in those cities; and by their agency tracts were printed and distributed, and the preaching of the gospel was sustained at particular localities. Thus did those who had experienced the benefits of the mission commence an attempt to defray the expenses of its support, and the generous sacrifices they often made bear the strongest testimony to its unspeakable value. The society at

* This number of presses was never in operation at any one time. The power press proved useless, and two of the others were early removed to Assam.

Tavoy, in 1839, supported from its own treasury not less than thirteen native preachers, and also defrayed the expenses of several of the Karen schools.

At the distance of thirty-five miles from Maulmain was the out-station of Dong-yahn, the solitary residence of Miss Eleanor Macomber, whose devoted and useful labors and early death deserve to be recorded among the events of this period. She entered upon the station in December, 1836, and found the people, who were Pwo Karens, the slaves of intemperance and of all the disgusting vices of heathenism. With the aid of two or three native assistants, she maintained public worship on the Sabbath, and morning and evening prayers at her own dwelling; and also opened a school, which soon numbered ten or twelve pupils. Before the close of the first dry season she had the happiness of seeing twelve Karens baptized and formed into a Christian church. She spent the period of the rains from May to September at Maulmain, and on her return to the jungle found the church and the schools prospering under the charge of the native preachers. The little church was soon committed to the care of Rev. Mr. Stevens, of the Theological School, and was occasionally visited by other missionaries from Maulmain. Amidst the prejudices and the occasional persecution of the priests and the votaries of Buddhism, the gospel continued to spread among the people; and Dong-yahn, by the instrumentality of this indefatigable lady, soon became the seat of a flourishing station, and the centre of religious light and knowledge to a wide region crowded with benighted Karens. Her influence upon her own sex was very extraordinary, and its results were visible in numerous dwellings among the villages of the jungle. But her missionary career was destined to be brought to an early close. She died after an illness of a few days, on the 16th of April, 1840, just as the fruits of her labors were beginning to adorn and cheer the secluded spot which she had chosen for cultivation,—leaving behind her a name and a memory which will long be gratefully cherished by

the rude dwellers in the wilderness whom she was the first to instruct in the gospel of Christ.

As we turn to trace the history of the missionaries who were at this time stationed in Burmah Proper, we meet with scenes widely different from the quiet and uniform progress that marked the stations beneath the protection of the British flag. Their labors were constantly exposed to interruption from the caprices of jealous rulers or the violence of contending factions, while the few who ventured to profess themselves disciples of Christ were visited with the opposition of their friends, and with all the evils incident to a corrupt public sentiment. In 1835, a persecution of the most violent character broke out at Rangoon. It was commenced by some of the petty magistrates, who had long viewed with jealousy the labors of the native assistants as they were employed in preaching and distributing books and tracts in and around the city. The chief object of their hostility was Ko San-Lone, a man of superior intelligence and piety, and of great boldness and activity in the service of the mission. He was one of the three native assistants who had accompanied Mr. Kincaid to Ava, and since his return had been, with Ko Thah-a, the pastor of the church, almost the only Christian who dared to distribute books, or lift up his voice for God beneath the frowning despotism of Rangoon. On the 25th of February, the violence, which had long been threatening, broke out against him. He was seized and sent to the prison, where he was beaten, loaded with irons, and subjected to severe and ignominious labor. His heroic Christian faith quailed not before this storm of persecution, and his character continued to shine brightly amidst the clouds that lowered around him. Before the tribunal of cruel magistrates, beneath the lashes of his persecutors or in the felons' dungeon in which he was immured, he still bore himself with the meek fortitude of a martyr to the truth. Though repeatedly threatened with death unless he would abjure his religion and worship Gaudama, he still trusted, without faltering, in the God he served, and presented a noble exemplification of Christian character. After

nearly a fortnight's detention he was released from prison, but his entire property was confiscated and he was forbidden by the woongyee to resume his labors as assistant in the mission. He died soon after, much lamented by the missionaries with whom he had been associated.

Nearly every Christian in Rangoon was subjected to fines or to imprisonment, in the course of this attempt to extinguish by violence the new religion taught by the missionaries. Nor was the persecution confined to the city. Preaching excursions had been made into the neighboring district of Maubee, and along a stream known as the Karen Brook, and the number of Karen converts thus made, and now living scattered through the country, far exceeded that of the Burman Christians of Rangoon. These were all visited with fines and arrests, and officers went through the villages to collect by force the heavy assessments which had been laid upon all who refused to worship *Nats*, and to acknowledge Gaudama. The persecuted Christians fled in every direction to escape the exactions of their oppressors; but they bore with them the faith they cherished, and preached the gospel as they went in regions where it was before unknown. Ko Thah-byu, the pastor of Maubee, with a portion of his flock, was soon found in Pegu telling the story of the cross, and teaching the precepts of Christ among the numerous population of that hitherto unvisited district.

The first effect of the persecution at Rangoon was wholly to suspend the operations of the mission. Not a Burman or a Karen for a time dared to appear as a worshipper at the verandah, and with a few exceptions, none ventured even to visit the missionaries or to perform for them the commonest services of life. The alarm, however, was not then of long continuance, and the families attached to the mission continued to reside in the city and to prosecute their labors, often with encouraging success, until subsequent events compelled them to abandon the station.

In October, 1836, Mr. Vinton arrived at Rangoon from Maulmain. He was accompanied by the two native preachers, Ko

Chet-thing and Ko Taunah. As the open opposition to the labors of the missionaries had subsided, an excursion was undertaken by Messrs. Vinton, Abbott and Howard, up the Irrawaddy and into the district of the Maubee Karens. They met with a large number who, in spite of the persecution which had scarcely yet died away, had embraced Christianity, and had long been waiting for the visit of a missionary that they might be baptized. In the course of their journey they administered the sacred ordinance to one hundred and seventy-three, ninety-two males and eighty-one females, nearly all of whom had received the gospel from the preaching of their indefatigable countryman, Ko Thah-byu. Of the persons baptized, eleven were head men of villages or chiefs of small districts, and many of them had been worshippers of God for two, three and four years. It was supposed that not less than a hundred more were scattered over the jungle, who had in like manner embraced Christianity and were waiting to receive baptism. The Karens in and around Rangoon evinced the utmost eagerness to be instructed in the truths of the gospel, and though closely watched by the Buddhist priests and forbidden the use of books, yet several hundreds of them learned to read at their own dwellings, away from the observation of their Burman rulers. These incidents occurring unexpectedly in the wilderness, awakened anew the most glowing hopes respecting the Karens, and satisfied the missionaries that even beneath the oppressive rule that crushed them to the earth in Burmah Proper, they were still a people whom God had chosen to bless with a knowledge of himself.

Nor were the missionaries at Ava suffered to prosecute their labors without frequent interruptions, dictated now by the jealousy of the priests, and now by the factious violence of rival rulers. Messrs. Cutter and Brown, who had been associated with Mr. Kincaid in the management of the station, returned to Rangoon in the spring of 1835, taking with them the press, but leaving behind a large collection of books and tracts which had been printed at the capital. Mr. Kincaid was joined in the autumn of the following year by Mr. and Mrs. Simons, and early in Jan-

uary, 1837, by Mr. and Mrs. Webb, who brought with them additional supplies of printed works for the use of the station. No place in the empire furnished to the missionary such opportunities for disseminating a knowledge of the gospel, as did Ava. Being the seat of the Golden Presence, and the centre of authority and interest to a numerous people, it was a place of constant resort for persons from every portion of the realm. Hither came caravans of merchants to bring the products of every district, and hither resorted, with their bands of retainers, the princes of distant provinces to settle the questions of state and offer their allegiance to the monarch. It is the place where representatives of every condition and of every district are accustomed to assemble, so that what is promulgated at Ava is likely to be borne abroad in different directions as widely as the Burman sway extends.

Mr. Kincaid had formed the acquaintance of several persons who came to the capital in the train of some princes of the Shyans, a people occupying the provinces on the northern frontiers of Burmah. In his intercourse with them he inquired carefully concerning the position of their country and its contiguity to China, and conceived that by pursuing a route in that direction a missionary might not only introduce the gospel to the Shyans, but also obtain access to the Chinese. For the purpose of ascertaining the correctness of his views, and of becoming acquainted with the crowded population of the northern provinces, he formed the design of an excursion to the frontiers of Assam. The design having been approved by his brethren of the mission he obtained permission of the government, though with great difficulty and after many delays, to travel through the provinces of the north. On the 27th of January, he embarked on the Irrawaddy, with four native Christians for his attendants, in a boat which was despatched in his charge, on the public service, by Colonel Burney, the English Resident at Ava. He passed through regions of great natural beauty and magnificence, often landing at the large towns which lined the banks of the river, and after twenty-two days reached Mogaung, a city distant three

hundred and fifty miles from the capital. Here, beneath the shadow of the Himmaleh mountains, he found spreading before him the vast wilderness which separates Burmah from Hindostan, skirted by a territory crowded with people and abounding in mines of amber and serpentine stone. He made several excursions into the valley around the city, but, finding himself unable to procure either provisions suitable for his journey or men to accompany him, he was obliged again to set his face towards Ava. A civil war had now broken out, and the country was distracted with tumults and filled with hordes of banditti. In his passage down the river he was suddenly attacked by one of these marauding bands, plundered of every thing in his possession, and then left to pursue his journey. On the following day he was again seized by another band of robbers, who stripped him of his clothes, bound him with ropes and compelled him and his attendants to march with them to their village, where he witnessed scenes of heart-rending atrocity among the prisoners whom the freebooters had collected. His life was constantly in danger; but with the assistance of a young Kathay who belonged to the band and who had been at his house in Ava, he contrived to effect his escape, and fleeing to the mountains he found his way across a thinly inhabited district to the capital, having passed through the greatest perils and escaped assassination only by the merciful interpositions of Heaven.

Mr. Kincaid reached Ava on the 11th of March, and found the city filled with alarm, and threatened with all the horrors of anarchy and civil war. Prince Tharawaddy had risen against his brother the king, dethroned him and sent his officers to prison; and having established himself at Mokesobo, a garrisoned city forty-five miles north of Ava, was now investing the capital and the neighboring cities with his armies. Colonel Burney, the English Resident, put his house in a state of defence, and, inviting the mission families to join his own, was able to keep at a distance the marauding parties that desolated the neighborhood, and to protect the lives and property of the missionaries. They had cherished the hope that the new king, who had the reputa-

tion of being liberal in his views, when fairly seated in power would look favorably upon their labors. But in this they were disappointed. At the first interview which they had with him after his accession to the throne, he expressly prohibited the work in which they were engaged: "I am now king of Burmah," said he, "and am therefore *tha tha na da ya ka*, (defender of the faith,) and must support the religion of the country. You must give away no more of Christ's books." He, however, declared that he had no objection to scientific books, and invited the missionaries to bring a press to Ava and print and circulate them. It was the aim of the new king to set aside the treaty of Yandabo; and he informed Colonel Burney that he no longer recognized him as English Resident, though he did not wish him to leave the capital. The colonel, however, decided to retire, and the missionaries, apprehending that war might again ensue between the English and the new Burman authorities, made preparations to accompany him. They left Ava, and the little church of twenty-one members which they had planted there, on the 17th of June, and arrived at Rangoon on the 6th of July. The missionaries stationed at Rangoon had already gone to Maulmain, in consequence of the threatening aspect of the revolution, and the decrees which had been issued by the viceroy of the province. Mr. Kincaid followed them after a few weeks; Mr. Webb repaired to Calcutta in order to take passage for America for the recovery of Mrs. Webb's health, while Mr. Simons lingered for many months at Rangoon, engaged in such labors as he was able to perform in the disturbed condition of the city and the empire.

But while the labors of the missionaries among the Burmans at Rangoon were thus nearly suspended, among the Karens in the neighboring districts they were prosecuted with even unwonted success. In the spring of 1837 Mr. Abbott had again come among them, and was now travelling through their villages in the districts of Maubee and Pantanau. He every where witnessed the effects of the oppressive taxation to which they were subjected. The names of all the Christians were reported to

the rulers, and they were fined in many instances so heavily that they were obliged to give up their children as slaves, in order to satisfy the rapacity of their persecutors. In December, 1837, Mr. Abbott went to the province of Bassein, where, with many others, a young chief of one of the Karen districts embraced Christianity, and evinced the utmost interest in the conversion and improvement of his countrymen. He came to Rangoon in a few weeks, bringing with him nine of his people who had been converted by his agency, and who he desired should learn to read, that they might return and instruct the villages from which they came. He was a person of unusual intelligence and interest of character, and seemed to spring at once into a full comprehension of the inestimable blessings which Christianity is designed to bestow. In August, 1838, several months afterwards, he came again to Rangoon to be instructed and to receive an additional supply of books for his people. He had already accomplished his object, and, in the highest spirits, with his followers all laden with books, he had taken leave of the missionaries, when the whole company were seized by Burman officers, loaded with irons, and put in the stocks and in prison. Thence they were removed to the great pagoda, where they were "offered in sacrifice," as it is called, or sentenced to be perpetual slaves — they and their posterity — to the gods. They were, however, finally released from the ignominious bondage to which they were doomed, by the intervention of the missionaries, and by the exertions of an officer attached to the British Residency. Gathering as many of the tracts and books as had escaped destruction, they concealed them about their persons and returned to their native jungle, where the young chief was long engaged in spreading the knowledge of the gospel among his countrymen.

In November, 1838, Messrs. Abbott and Simons, finding that the aspect of political affairs was becoming more threatening, and still apprehensive of war between the English and the Burmese, left Rangoon and went to Maulmain.

In November, 1839, a year after the departure of the mis-

sionaries, Mr. Abbott in company with Mr. Kincaid again visited Rangoon. They went at the special invitation of the viceroy who had known Mr. Kincaid at Ava, and who, it now appeared, was desirous that the American teachers should return in order that the people, by seeing them at their usual work, might be more fully assured of the public tranquillity. The viceroy received them with great courtesy and invited them to bring their families and settle again at Rangoon, assuring them that they should be protected from all annoyance and that their condition should be made comfortable. This was certainly a new spirit to proceed from the viceroy of Rangoon, and was a source of great encouragement to the missionaries, although they discovered, in the feverish condition of the public mind and in the fickle policy of the government, many hinderances to the immediate prosecution of their labors.

There were at this time upwards of three hundred members of churches, Burmans and Karens, in the city and the neighboring districts. These scattered disciples met the missionaries with the utmost delight, which was warmly reciprocated when it was ascertained that they had generally been true to their principles amidst innumerable perils, and, with the blessing of Heaven on their endeavors, had won a multitude of others to the faith they cherished. The assistants at Pantanau and Maubee gave the most gratifying accounts of the success of the gospel in those districts, and the tidings from Bassein showed that a work of divine grace had been in constant progress there. The young chief had remitted none of his activity in the cause of Christ. His house was often visited by large companies of his people who came to learn to read, and to hear the gospel; and in that district alone, it was supposed that from six hundred to one thousand were now waiting to be baptized. So wonderful were the triumphs of the Christian faith in the wilderness of Burmah! Though propagated only by those who themselves had just received it and had scarcely learned to read the Gospels in which it was contained, though persecuted and despised by cruel priests and superstitious despots, it had taken possession

of the hearts of hundreds of Karens, and was beginning to start a whole people on a new career of social progress and spiritual elevation.

Messrs. Kincaid and Abbott remained at Rangoon six weeks, during which time information was received that the viceroy was re-called on account of his liberal treatment of foreigners, and that another was already appointed in his place. He soon arrived and proved himself to be a man of stern, despotic temper, which had before manifested itself in frequent acts of cruelty. Decrees were immediately issued, designed to put an end to all intercourse between the Burmans and foreigners; and the missionaries, despairing of being able either to go up to Ava or to engage openly in their work at Rangoon, retired to Maulmain, and soon after joined the mission in Arracan.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE Province of Arracan. — Mr. and Mrs. Comstock settle at Kyouk Phyoo. — Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Hall. — Their early Death. — Messrs. Abbott and Kincaid join the Mission. — Mr. Abbott at Sandoway. — Labors among the Karens. — Their rapid Conversion to Christianity. — Burman Persecution of the Christian Karens. — Their Fidelity and its Results. — Sympathy of British Residents. — Death of Mrs. Abbott, and Visit of Mr. Abbott to the United States. — Mr. Kincaid at Akyab. — The Mountain Chief. — Sad Changes in the Mission. — Death of Mr. and Mrs. Comstock. — Progress of the Mission in British Burmah from 1840 to 1845: also in Burmah Proper. — Changes in the Board. — Death of Rev. Dr. Bolles.

THE province of Arracan lies upon the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, and is bounded on the north by Chittagong, on the east by the Yoma Mountains, which separate it from Burmah, while on the south and west it is washed by the waters of the bay. It embraces sixteen thousand five hundred square miles, and formerly belonged to the Burman empire; but in 1826 it was ceded by the treaty of Yandabo to the British East

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India Company. It is divided into four districts, Akyab, Sandoway, Aeng and Ramree,—the latter consisting of islands, of which the largest is forty miles in length. The province contains about a thousand villages, and is occupied by a population numbering nearly two hundred and fifty thousand, of whom the greater part are called Mugs, presenting some peculiarities, though undoubtedly of the same general race and speaking the same language as the Burmans.* A branch of the mission was commenced in Arracan in March, 1835, by Mr. and Mrs. Comstock, who established themselves at Kyouk Phyoo, a town near the northern extremity of Ramree island. They were hospitably received by Mr. Adams, the Master-Attendant of the port; and, having obtained a suitable dwelling, they soon commenced the distribution of tracts, and conversation with the people as far as their knowledge of the language would permit. Early in 1836 Mr. Comstock made a journey to the district of Aeng, for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the people of the province, as well as of spreading abroad a knowledge of the gospel. His preaching was every where listened to with the curiosity which usually characterizes intelligent heathen, particularly among the Kyens, a race inhabiting the mountains, and resembling the Karens in many features of their character and condition.

On his return to Kyouk Phyoo he established a school, in which many of the pupils, as is usual in British Burmah, were instructed in English. The English officers resident near the station uniformly encouraged the labors of the missionaries, and in many instances proved themselves their warm personal friends. In December, 1836, the station was visited by Rev. Mr. Malcom, and at his instance Mr. Comstock went to Akyab, then the residence of Rev. Mr. Fink, of the Serampore Baptist Mission, and procured an intelligent Arracanese convert to act as assistant. Two other assistants were subsequently obtained

* For a full account of this province see "Notes on Arakan, by the late Rev. G. S. Comstock," &c., published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I. No. 3, 1847.

from Maulmain, and upon these three subordinate laborers were now devolved the principal active operations of the mission.

In May, 1837, the station was reinforced by the arrival of Rev. Levi Hall and Mrs. Hall, whose accession was greeted with the liveliest interest and hope. A church was soon afterwards organized, which was composed only of the missionaries and their native assistants, as none of the natives had yet embraced the Christian faith. Both the newly-arrived missionaries however, fell victims to the fever of the country, and died before their labors had begun, — Mrs. Hall in July and Mr. Hall in September after their arrival. The following year Mr. and Mrs. Comstock, in consequence of their own enfeebled health, were obliged to spend at Maulmain. In February, 1839, they returned to Arracan, accompanied by Rev. Lyman Stilson and his wife, who had been designated to the mission before leaving the United States. They also took with them four native assistants; and, as their former station had proved unhealthy, they now established themselves at the city of Ramree, where they hoped to find a more salubrious climate than at Kyook Phyoo. The church was removed to the new station, and its number by the recent accessions to the mission was increased to eleven members. Schools were immediately established, tracts and books were circulated in great numbers, and the preaching of the gospel was constantly maintained, yet none of the superstitious natives of the country had thus far been converted to Christianity.

Thus through vicissitude and affliction had the mission in Arracan been constantly passing for five years, when Messrs. Abbott and Kincaid repaired to the province early in 1840. They had been obliged to leave their stations in Burnah Proper, in consequence of the opposition which was made to their labors, and of the additional persecutions to which the converts to the gospel were subjected by their continued presence in the country. They however were determined still to watch over the fields they had left, and so far as possible to maintain a communication — Mr. Kincaid with the Burman converts at Ava, and Mr. Abbott

with the scattered Karens in the districts of Bassein and Rangoon. They at first regarded their residence in Arracan as only temporary, and were prepared to hasten back to the posts they had been compelled to abandon, so soon as the stern despotism of the monarch should in any degree relax its rigor. After a brief residence with their brethren at Ramree, Mr. Kincaid went to Akyab, the largest town in the district of that name, where he planted a station for the native Arracanese; while Mr. Abbott repaired to Sandoway, a locality which he selected as favorably situated for opening a communication with the Karens, who dwelt beyond the mountains of Arracan, in the neighboring districts of Burmah Proper. Here he was soon to be the witness of triumphs of the gospel over the errors and superstitions of a heathen land, such as the history of the Christian church has seldom recorded even on its brightest pages.

He arrived at Sandoway on the 17th of March, and immediately sent two of the assistants who had accompanied him, across the mountains, to inform the Karens of the adjacent district of Burmah of his arrival and to invite them to visit him. They were also directed to find the young men who had studied with Mr. Abbott at Rangoon, and to persuade them to come and resume their studies at Sandoway. The spirit of inquiry had been deeply awakened in preceding years, and the tidings that the teacher was again within their reach were borne from village to village, and were every where received with enthusiasm. The passes between the two countries were guarded by jealous Burmans; yet, in contempt of watchful rulers and in spite of mountain barriers, large companies of Karens found their way to the missionary, some asking for baptism, others seeking books for their countrymen at home, and others still desiring to remain and study under the direction of Mr. Abbott. In this manner came many of the assistants and their converts from the regions of Maubee and Pantanau, and even from the vicinity of Rangoon, from whom he was able to learn the condition of the churches which had been planted there, and also the won-

had previously received baptism, was by the end of the first year of his residence at Sandoway increased to one hundred and eighty-four.

At the beginning of 1842, he made a second visit to the same frontier region, where he had now arranged to meet a large number of the assistants who were preaching in Bassein and other districts of Burmah, and with them such of their converts as were ready to receive baptism. At Magezzin, a Christian village four days from Sandoway, at which a church had been planted the year before, he met several assistants and a number of converts who, were awaiting his arrival. Here, in a stream many a time before hallowed by the sacred rite, he baptized twenty-four men from different villages of Burmah, three of them from the distant banks of the Irrawaddy north of Rangoon.

At Magezzin, at Oung Kyoung and Sinmah, where churches had been planted the year before, the people had already erected commodious chapels, and were now maintaining the worship of the sanctuary and the institutions of the gospel. In these and in other villages where the Christians were numerous, Mr. Abbott appointed assistants to watch over them, to preach to them, and in all things, save in administering the ordinances, to act as pastors of the churches. The persons who were thus appointed had long been known to the missionary; they had been his pupils, and had received their views of pastoral duty and of church discipline from his instructions; and they proved themselves worthy of the confidence he reposed in them. Some of them were subsequently ordained, and have since baptized multitudes of their brethren into the faith of the gospel. In this excursion Mr. Abbott was absent thirty-one days, in the course of which he received visits from a large number of the native preachers from Burmah, visited all the churches that lay along the frontier of Arracan, and administered the ordinance of baptism to two hundred and seventy-nine persons, who were recommended by the assistants as giving satisfactory evidence of conversion and of faith in Jesus Christ.

derful spread of the gospel among the people. Many of the assistants were of the opinion that the number of persons professing to be Christians, in these districts of Burmah Proper, could not be less than four thousand. Of those who came to Sandoway many were baptized, and the school which Mr. Abbott opened was soon filled with fifty pupils, of whom the greater part had already been or were preparing to become assistants in the mission.

The accounts which he thus received from the native Christians whom he had left in Burmah Proper, were generally of the most satisfactory character. They had been subjected to almost incessant persecution; but they had borne insult and injury, fine and imprisonment, with the meek endurance which the gospel enjoins, and had firmly kept the faith they had professed in the doctrines and promises of Christianity. They had also nobly aimed to communicate it to others; and through that wide region, village after village, which had never heard the voice of the missionary, had now received the gospel and become obedient to its requirements. The Burman magistrates, finding the number of Christians becoming so large, often relaxed their severity and said, "Let them worship *their* God, if they pay their taxes and obey the laws," — a policy which was adopted in order to prevent the persecuted Karens from emigrating in a body to the British provinces.

In January, 1841, Mr. Abbott started on an excursion to visit the Karens scattered along the eastern frontier of Arracan. In the course of this journey he met a large number who came from the Burman side of the mountains, who told him more particularly of the sufferings they had endured for reading the "white book" and receiving "the religion of the foreigner." Their knowledge of the gospel was clear and full, to a degree that often awakened the surprise of the missionary; and their desire to be baptized and enrolled among the disciples of Christ was unabated by the persecutions they had suffered. He was absent nearly a month, and during the time he baptized fifty-seven persons — a number which, in addition to those who

had previously received baptism, was by the end of the first year of his residence at Sandoway increased to one hundred and eighty-four.

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But it was not alone in excursions like these, which he made at least once every year, that Mr. Abbott witnessed the power of the gospel over the hearts of the Karens. They constantly visited him at Sandoway, often coming twelve or fifteen days' journey, to converse with the teacher, to obtain books, or to receive baptism. The school which he had established for their instruction, though at one time broken up by the frightful ravages of the cholera, was generally attended by nearly fifty pupils, among whom were frequently many of the native assistants, who thus spent the intervals of their residence at Sandoway in qualifying themselves more fully for their work as preachers of the gospel. In this manner he saw the cause to which he was devoted every where triumphant, and though obliged to conduct the mission unassisted and alone, he beheld over the fields which it occupied a whole people turning to God. Within the period of five years after his arrival in Arracan, the number of persons baptized by him, or by the pastors under his charge, was upwards of three thousand, — a number considerably larger than had then been baptized in connection with all the other missions of the Convention taken together.* The greater part of these were baptized by the native preachers in Burmah Proper, where, in multitudes of cases, without ever having seen the missionary, they received the gospel from the heralds whom he had sent, and boldly professed their faith in its doctrines in contempt of the stern despotism that lowered around them.

During the winter of 1842 and '43, in consequence of a royal order which had been issued, to exterminate the "white books" and the "religion of the foreigner" from the country, the persecutions of the Christian Karens, which for a time had been remitted, were renewed with the utmost cruelty and violence. Whole families were seized at their homes, at places of worship, or while assembled to hear the reading of the Scriptures; the men were often brutally beaten, while the women, separated from their children, were chained together in pairs, and all were

* In the year 1844 alone, the number baptized by Mr. Abbott and his assistants was 2,039.

driven away to a distant prison, where, with no food save such as the charity of the heartless Burmans allowed them, they were left to drag out a wretched and starving confinement till they could satisfy the rapacity of their persecutors. They were liberated at length on the payment of nearly six hundred rupees, — a fine which in many instances robbed them of their entire possessions. Yet they bore their persecutions with heroic fortitude, and when released from imprisonment, refused to promise that they would abandon the worship of God. The effect was every where most favorable. “The noble, fearless testimony,” says Mr. Abbott, “which those prisoners bear to the truth, has given their cause notoriety and character. The common people throughout the country generally look upon the new religion with interest at least, and *whisper* their sympathies with its suffering votaries.”

So frequent and violent were the persecutions at this period, that the Karens began to flee in great numbers from the ruthless violence which every where, in Burmah Proper, crushed them to the earth. They left the harvests of paddy which they had gathered, and the fields they could no longer cultivate in safety, and fled to the mountains; and though the passes were watched by officers and informers, in order to prevent their emigration, yet hundreds of these persecuted Christians escaped the jurisdiction of their oppressors, and took refuge in Arracan. During the winter and spring of 1843, Mr. Abbott records the arrival of upwards of two hundred emigrant families. Whole villages would in this manner cross the mountains, in company with their pastors, — bringing with them their buffaloes and the few articles of property which they could move, but trusting to providence and the charity of their brethren for the supply of their immediate wants. Their condition was often pitiable in the extreme, and enlisted the kindest sympathies not only of the missionaries but also of the British residents of the province. By Mr. Abbott they were regarded as a part of his own scattered flock, and he exerted himself to the utmost for the relief of their necessities. He encouraged them in their

afflictions, and aided them in forming new villages; and at his instance Captain Phayre, the assistant commissioner of the province, supplied them with food, allowing them a year in which to make their payments, without interest. Though thus dependent on the bounty of strangers, they were now secure in the fruits of their own industry. Though they had come to a less genial soil, they had gained the priceless privilege of freedom to worship God.

Seldom do the checkered pages of missionary history record a more affecting instance of persecution for conscience' sake, than that which was thus visited on these simple-hearted, Christian Karens. Hunted down like the birds upon their own mountains, beaten with stripes, loaded with chains and shut in prisons, their infant faith was subjected to trials which that of Christians even in the most favored lands might not always endure unharmed. Yet they wavered not. They abandoned their villages and their cultivated fields. They sacrificed their property, they gave up their country and perilled their lives; but they would not resign the faith and doctrines whose power they had experienced. They would still worship God, even though they were obliged to do it beneath another sky and in a strange land. Their ultimate fate lends a still darker hue to the melancholy picture of their sufferings. In the summer after their arrival, just as they had become settled in their new villages, and were beginning to enjoy the blessings of the freedom they had so dearly won, the cholera again laid waste the country, and hurried these emigrant Karens by hundreds to the grave. In the panic which it created many fled across the mountains back to the persecuting land which they had left; while many more, uncared-for and unknown, perished in the jungle, victims of the pestilence they sought to escape.

From the imperfect outline thus given it is possible to form but a faint conception of the responsibilities and labors which pressed upon the solitary missionary who at this period, from behind the mountains of Arracan, conducted the entire operations of the mission in Burmah Proper. He was charged not

only with the superintendence of a wide missionary district, of which the inhabitants with one accord seemed to be turning to Christianity, but with the care and instruction of a rising ministry, who were perhaps to form the religious opinions and habits of a numerous people, and also with the necessity of deciding the questions and settling the interests of infant communities just emerging from barbarism, and entering upon a career of social progress. His position, as is often true of the missionary, more than realized the classic fables that relate the deeds of the early civilizers of the human race,—the founders of mythologies, the teachers of letters and of arts; for with the aid of a far purer civilization he was shaping the social and religious character of a whole people.

But the task was too great for a single, unassisted individual. Aid was earnestly solicited; but, in the straitened circumstances of the Board, it could not be sent. His constitution, though naturally strong, was prostrated beneath the labors of his post; and when repeated domestic bereavement added its own poignant sorrows to the weight of ceaseless responsibility, his health was gone, and he was obliged to abandon the work he had attempted to carry forward. During the summer of 1844, which was very sickly in the province, he had two of his children swept away by the hand of death, and in the following January Mrs. Abbott, after a brief illness, followed them to the tomb.* Mr. Abbott, thus broken in health and bereft of the dearest objects of his affection, finding himself no longer able to sustain the labors of the mission, was soon afterwards obliged to return to the United States in order to recruit the energies of his enfeebled constitution.

We turn now to other scenes of labor and of trial connected with the mission in Arracan. It was in the month of April, 1840, that Mr. Kincaid, as has already been mentioned,

* Mrs. Abbott was Miss Ann P. Gardner, who joined the mission at Tavoy in 1835, on the return of Mr. and Mrs. Wade. She resided at Tavoy, and at Matak and other out-stations of the mission, and was married to Mr. Abbott in 1837.

commenced the station at Akyab. Here, amidst a population of 16,000, he found a native church planted many years before by the English missionaries, and now numbering thirteen members. They had been long without any pastoral guidance or instruction, and, amidst the evil influences of heathenism, the doctrines of the gospel had well-nigh faded from their minds. The missionary, however, assembled them together and immediately established religious meetings for their instruction, and soon had the happiness of seeing around him a large congregation, some of whom were eagerly inquiring respecting the new religion. Among these were several persons of superior education and of high standing; and one especially who several years before had been appointed by the king at Ava, on account of his attainments in Buddhist learning, to go to Arracan as a missionary, to explain the sacred books to the priests and the people of the province. During the first summer of his residence at Akyab Mr. Kincaid baptized three native converts, and was daily instructing about thirty others, who professed to believe the gospel, but in the judgment of the missionary were not sufficiently established to receive baptism. The baptism of several persons of influence at Akyab called forth a violent opposition from many of the priests and their followers. Those who visited the missionaries or read their books were obliged to encounter the utmost hostility and scorn from their neighbors and friends, and were often threatened and sometimes assaulted with actual violence. The church gradually increased in spite of all opposition, and another was planted at Cruda, an out-station five days' journey from Akyab, at which twelve persons were soon baptized.

In May, 1841, Mr. Kincaid was visited by a chief and several members of the tribe of Kemmees, a race inhabiting the mountains, and resembling in habits and appearance the Kyens and Karens. He was known as the "mountain chief," and was at the head of several subordinate clans and petty chiefs. They listened to the conversation of the missionary in the Burman tongue, and retired with their barbarian indifference, seemingly

undisturbed by the doctrines which they had heard. After a few months, however, Mr. Kincaid received a communication signed by "Chetza, the mountain chief," and by thirteen subordinate chiefs, stating that they had thought of the new religion, and that, as their people were ignorant, they desired them "to know the true God and to be taught the true book." The communication also contained the names of two hundred and seventy-three children, whom they would place at school if he would come to their mountains. The request was repeated a little time after, by the principal chief in person, who came to the mission house with a large retinue, just as Mr. Kincaid and Mr. Stilson were setting out on a journey to the Kemmee villages. He hastened back with the utmost joy to prepare for their reception. So great was his interest in their visit and so strong his desire to have them remain, that when the missionaries arrived, five days after his return, they found to their surprise a *zayat* erected for their accommodation, and supplied with many of the articles of comfort which the chief had seen only in the mission house at Akyab.

The Kemmees, like the Karens, though in a far more limited sense, seemed to be prepared, by their traditions and their sensibility to moral truth, to receive the gospel. The chief offered to build a house for the permanent residence of the missionaries, but they were unable to remain. A few months afterwards, however, Messrs. Kincaid and Stilson, at different dates, again visited this mountain people; and the latter in the course of a brief residence studied their language, and finding it almost identical with the *Kyen* which he had already mastered, he partially reduced its elements to writing.* But the sickness of his

* This reduction has been carried still further by Mr. Stilson, who has recently prepared and printed a spelling book and a Christian reading book in the language of the Kemmees. They were visited in 1848 by Mr. Ingalls, and have found an active friend in Mr. Crawford, the English Commissioner in Arracan. By him they have been relieved from the tyranny of Burman magistrates, and a Christian head man, of their own race, has been placed over them. Several of them have already embraced Christianity, and as a people they now present a most inviting field for missionary labor.

family compelled him to return to Akyab; and from the same cause both Mr. and Mrs. Kincaid were required, a few months later, to leave their post in the mission and go to Calcutta, and afterwards to sail for the United States. Mr. Stilson was thus obliged to occupy the station at Akyab, and abandon his design of preaching to the mountain chief and his numerous clans of subject Kemmees, who represented themselves as all ready to learn "the wisdom of the true book."

Still darker clouds, however, were now lowering around the mission, and heavier misfortunes were about to befall its interests. Mr. and Mrs. Comstock had, since 1840, been living at Ramree, with Mr. and Mrs. Stilson for their occasional coadjutors, assiduously engaged in the prosecution of the mission of which they were the earliest pioneers. Here, though but few had been admitted to the church by baptism, they had witnessed many most encouraging indications, and were anticipating still other fruits of their labors, when, in the month of April, 1843, Mrs. Comstock fell a victim to an epidemic then prevailing in the town. Two of her children were soon after hurried away by the same destroyer; and at the end of a year, in April, 1844, the unfortunate mission was afflicted with the severest loss it could sustain, in the death of Mr. Comstock himself. He was a missionary of superior education and of the noblest qualities of character, and during the nine years of his residence in Arracan had been distinguished for his wisdom, fidelity, and useful labors. In addition to his services in the mission, he had nearly completed an elaborate work on the condition of the province and its inhabitants, and the changes which had been wrought by the missionaries and the English residents.* He died at the age of thirty-five, ere he had reached the meridian of his days, just at the period when the mission, already paralyzed by repeated bereavements, seemed most to need the ser-

* A part of this work has been published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, with the title of "Notes on Arakan," and in the *American Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. xxvii, p. 375, and has been already referred to on a preceding page.

vices and the counsels which his sound discretion and long experience so well fitted him to bestow.

Thus, one after another, had the missionaries of Arracan disappeared from the fields of their labor, until, at the beginning of 1845, Mr. and Mrs. Stilson found themselves alone, in the entire province, — the solitary conductors of a mission which had created the highest interest, and which still needed only additional laborers to insure for it the noblest results.

The two principal stations of the mission in the Tenasserim provinces were at Maulmain and at Tavoy. These had now become so extensive and had spread their branches so widely from the central location, as henceforth to be designated in the reports of the Board as independent missions. At Maulmain there were residing in 1840, Messrs. Judson, Howard, Stevens, Osgood and Simons, in connection with the Burman department, and Mr. Vinton, in connection with the Karen department of the mission. The wives of the missionaries were usually actively employed in the schools, some for the Karens and others for the Burmans. At Amherst was a secondary station, at which Mr. Haswell was still engaged in preaching to the Talings, or Peguans, in translating the New Testament into their language, and superintending the schools which with Mrs. Haswell he had established among them. Around Maulmain were now seven other subordinate stations, all for the Karens, which were under the charge of native assistants, though visited by the missionaries at least once during every dry season. The number of churches thus connected with what was now called the Maulmain Mission, was seven, containing in all four hundred and fifty-four members.

At Tavoy, though there was a small Burman church, yet the missionaries were almost exclusively devoted to labors among the Karen population. There were now dwelling there only Messrs. Wade and Mason with their wives; Mr. and Mrs. Bennett being absent on a visit to the United States, and Mr. and Mrs. Hancock having been recently obliged to abandon the mission. Around Tavoy were eight out-stations, all of them having

churches whose members now numbered four hundred and seventy-three. The church at Matak alone contained three hundred and ten. In connection with this mission also was the important station at Mergui, where Mr. Ingalls, a preacher in Burman, and Mr. Brayton, a preacher in Pwo Karen, with their wives, had been residing since the beginning of 1839. In the vicinity of Mergui, and under the care of its missionaries, were also eight out-stations with six churches, numbering in all one hundred and thirty-one members. The most flourishing of these stations was at Kabin, whose church now numbered seventy-five members. Under the direction of the missionaries at Maulmain were thirty native assistants, and seven schools of different grades, for a population of several different races; and in connection with the mission at Tavoy were sixteen schools, nearly all for Karens, and twenty native assistants. Several of the schools and the assistants however, both at Tavoy and at Maulmain, were supported by the contributions of missionary societies in these cities, or by benevolent individuals residing there. From these sources was derived a yearly revenue of from two to three thousand rupees,* contributed in great part by the English officers and residents, but yet in no insignificant degree by the native Christians themselves.

Of the missionaries to the Burmans, Mr. Osgood was mainly occupied with the labors of the press and the superintendence of the financial concerns of the mission. Mr. Stevens, in addition to his charge of the theological school, was pastor of the church of Pwo Karens at Dong-yahn, and in connection with Mr. Simons and Mr. Howard, who had charge of the other schools at Maulmain, preached in the chapel of the English church, which was composed of soldiers of the regiment stationed there. Dr. Judson, though in enfeebled health, still devoted his principal attention to a careful revision of the Burman Bible, preached once on a Sabbath — all that his strength would

* In the year ending July 1, 1845, the Maulmain Society alone contributed to the mission upwards of six thousand rupees, nearly two thousand nine hundred dollars.

allow — to the Burman church, and superintended the labors of the preaching assistants, who were employed among the Burman population of the town and the neighboring villages. This disposition of their labors left not a single missionary free from other engagements, and able to give his undivided attention to the work of preaching to the Burmans.

The Karen missionaries, both at Maulmain and at Tavoy, though having schools and the preparation of books constantly in charge, were yet able, from the circumstances in which they were placed and the character of the people to whom they ministered, to bestow a larger portion of their time and attention upon their chosen work of preaching the gospel; and, according to the plan which has been already explained, they spent the dry season of each year abroad among the villages and churches of the jungle; while in the rainy season they resided in town, teaching at the schools, writing for the press, and preaching on the Sabbath and on other stated days of every week. This constant proclamation of the gospel by the preacher's own voice is undoubtedly the instrumentality which, before all others, is most blessed of Heaven for the conversion and religious instruction of mankind; and the fact has been singularly illustrated in every year's experience of the mission to the Karens.

Of the revision of the Burman Bible, which had long engrossed his attention, Dr. Judson remarks that it cost him more time and labor than the first translation. In prosecuting the task he availed himself of the latest and best works of biblical criticism, and spared no pains in selecting and incorporating in the new edition the most approved results of the labors of European and American philologists. Seldom, we may well believe, has a translation of the word of God been accomplished with greater fidelity, or in a manner better fitted to bring the unadulterated truth of revelation in contact with the mind of a numerous people. Hitherto they have despised and rejected it; but the day is not distant when they will receive it as a most precious gift, and write the name of the venerable translator among those of their most honored benefactors. The last sheet

of the revised translation was committed to the press in October, 1840 ; and a few months after its completion Dr. Judson, finding his health seriously impaired, made a voyage with his family to the Isle of France. He was absent nearly a year, and returned with renewed strength in December, 1841, and soon after entered upon a work which he had long been meditating, — the preparation of a Dictionary in English and Burmese, for the purpose of facilitating the acquisition of both these languages. It was undertaken in accordance with the repeated request of the Board, and at the instance of missionaries and others who had encountered the difficulties usually presented, especially in acquiring the Burman tongue.

The Burman Theological School at Maulmain, whose members had always been less numerous than was anticipated at its commencement, was suspended at the close of its session in 1841, in consequence in part of the small number of its pupils, but more especially on account of the limited finances of the mission ; and from this cause several other schools were also closed at the same time. The Theological School was reöpened in the summer of 1844, but with only six Burman candidates for the ministry. During the interval in which the school was suspended Mr. Stevens, in addition to his other duties, devoted himself to editing a monthly journal in Burmese, designed especially for the native Christians. It was found to subserve an important purpose in exciting the interest of the people and diffusing valuable information, and is still continued under the title of the "Religious Herald." A similar journal, the "Morning Star," was commenced for the Karens at Tavoy, in 1843, and has been sustained with equal benefit.

But amidst these efforts of unwearied zeal, and this ceaseless employment of learning and ability, of labor and money, in the Burman department of the mission, the people for whom they were all designed, it must still be confessed, continued to reject Christianity, and to cling with their wonted tenacity to the superstitions which enslaved them. The Karens on the contrary, though furnished with less expensive means of instruction,

were still accepting the gospel; and in city and jungle, in the valleys and on the mountains, throughout the provinces of Tenasserim, were now to be met Christian families growing in the knowledge of the truth, and making constant progress in the kindly charities and domestic comforts of civilized life. The officers of the East India Company every where favored the arrangements which were adopted for their social advancement, by protecting them from molestation and injustice, and appointing their more intelligent chiefs to petty offices in the government of the country. Under the influence of the efforts which were thus made, and of the freedom which they enjoyed, their progress in industry, temperance, neatness and thrift was very remarkable. The entire New Testament was not printed in their language till near the close of 1843; yet long before this time, their churches had become so numerous in many districts of British Burmah, as far to transcend the ability of the missionaries to give them the attention and the instruction which they required. Both the churches and the schools that were connected with them were of necessity left almost entirely to the care of assistants who, though the best that could be selected, yet themselves often required scarcely less instruction and supervision than their pupils and flocks.

The need of a seminary, especially for the training of preachers for the Karens, had now become most urgent, and was strongly set forth in all the communications of the missionaries. Classes of native assistants had been formed at different periods and instructed by Mr. Abbott at Sandoway, by Mr. Vinton at Maulmain, and by Mr. Mason and others at Tavoy. But with the numerous other duties constantly pressing upon these missionaries, little could be done for the theological education of the assistants; and many of them had entered upon their labors with no more knowledge of letters than they had been able to obtain in six months' or a year's residence at school. These men, amidst all the imperfections of their training, proved themselves faithful, laborious and successful; yet they were destitute of the knowledge and discipline, the energy and judgment, which mental training

alone can give, and which are indispensable in forming the Christian character of a people just learning their first lessons of the gospel.

These views were fully presented to the Board at its meeting in 1843, and though its treasury was still embarrassed, it was determined immediately to attempt to supply this most pressing necessity. In resolutions, which were then adopted, the Acting Board were instructed "to direct special attention to the work of diffusing among the Karens the blessings of education, and to take immediate measures to furnish the native assistants among that people with such theological education as will enable them most successfully to preach the gospel among the heathen." In these circumstances the Acting Board, impressed with the necessity of having experienced men designated to a service so important to all the future interests of the Karen people, immediately opened a correspondence with the Rev. J. G. Binney, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Savannah, Ga., and invited him to enter the service of the Board as a missionary. He yielded to the solicitation, and was appointed to the charge of the Karen Theological School at Maulmain. At about the same time, Rev. E. B. Bullard, pastor of the church in Foxborough, Mass., decided to relinquish his parish, and offer himself to the Board as a missionary to Burmah. He was most readily and thankfully accepted, and appointed to labor as a preacher and a translator among the Pwo Karens at Dong-yahn and its vicinity. They sailed from Boston, with their wives, in November, 1843, and with them also Mr. T. S. Ranney, a printer, Mrs. Ranney, and Miss Julia A. Lathrop, all appointed to reside at Tavoy, and to aid the suffering mission among the Karens. These were followed in the succeeding autumn by Rev. E. B. Cross, appointed to the charge of the theological school at Tavoy, who, with his wife, sailed from Boston in October, 1844, and arrived at Maulmain in the following February.

Thus were a portion of the wants of this most interesting mission happily supplied; and though the early return of Miss Lathrop, occasioned by her loss of health, and the premature

death of Mr. Bullard, have blighted many of the hopes raised by this arrival of efficient helpers, yet the labors of the others have strengthened the hands of their brethren, and opened a brighter prospect to the Karen churches scattered over the jungle of Burmah.

A new impulse was also at this time given to the improvement of the Karens at Mergui, by the very liberal and well-directed measures of Major Broadfoot, then just appointed commissioner of the province. He aimed, in all his official acts, to raise their race from degradation and servitude, to reward with suitable promotion, industry and intelligence, and to awaken within them a confidence in themselves and an aspiration for a higher and more independent position. The missionaries too had the happiness of witnessing the most beneficent results following from their labors. The churches constantly increased in numbers, and the native Christians, beneath the approving smile of the government, were assiduous in their endeavors to acquire useful knowledge and to form worthy characters.

Among the islands that line the coast between Mergui and Penang were found a singular people, known as the *Selongs*, resembling the Karens, but far more ignorant and degraded, and often made the sport and the prey of their more powerful neighbors. They were visited several times by Mr. Brayton, in 1843, by whom many of them were baptized and formed into a church; and in the following year their peculiar dialect was reduced to writing by Mr. Stevens, at the request of Major Broadfoot, who contributed a thousand rupees in aid of the object, and for the establishment of schools for their instruction.

In all this time no missionary had resided at Rangoon. Mr. Abbott at Sandoway had attempted to maintain a communication with the native Christians, but in consequence of the great distance and the ceaseless espionage of the government he had not been successful. The station was visited by Mr. Vinton in 1842, and again in 1844 by the same missionary, in company with Messrs. Stevens and Ingalls,—in the latter instance for the purpose of deciding on the expediency of reëstablishing the

mission there. The church was still under the charge of the Burman pastor, Ko 'Thah-a, though languishing in the absence of the teachers, and exposed to the combined assaults and evil artifices both of Buddhist and of Roman Catholic priests. Its members, however, had remained faithful, though many who had formerly met with them at their places of worship had been turned by evil influences away from their company. Twelve Karens were baptized in one of these visits, and the hopes and faith of the little band of Christians were greatly strengthened by the sympathy and instructions of the missionaries, who, they had been told by their foes, "had taught them a false religion, and then abandoned them." It was, however, regarded as still inexpedient for them to attempt again, at present, to reside at Rangoon, notwithstanding the many evils attendant on their absence, and they were compelled reluctantly to withdraw till some change should be effected in the cruel and persecuting policy adopted by the government.

In 1842 the health of Rev. Dr. Bolles had become too infirm to admit of his discharging all his duties as one of the corresponding secretaries, an office which he had held since the removal of the Board to Boston in 1824, and Rev. Robert E. Pattison, D. D. was appointed associate secretary, in addition to Rev. Solomon Peck, who had been appointed in 1835. In September of that year, soon after Dr. Pattison had entered upon the duties of his office, Dr. Bolles finding his health still declining tendered his resignation to the Board. It was accepted by them with the sensibility due to his long and faithful services; and though he was released from all official responsibility he was requested still to retain his post at the missionary rooms, and to render to the other secretaries such aid and counsel as his enfeebled health might allow. He, however, soon found it necessary to withdraw entirely from all connection with the Board, for the malady with which he was afflicted pressed heavily upon him. His life's work was done; and he was waiting but a brief interval of calm reflection and Christian hope ere he entered upon the scenes of a higher existence. After a lingering illness, he

died at Boston, January 5, 1844, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He had been an officer of the Board for twenty years, and for nearly seventeen years had held the office of Corresponding Secretary. Under his judicious management the enterprise of foreign missions had steadily advanced, until it had now become the most important charity of the Baptist denomination in America. His gentle spirit and amiable manners had won friends for the cause among all classes of people,—while the wise Christian counsels, which went forth in his correspondence from the retirement of the secretary's office, had shaped the early character of the missions which had been planted in the most distant lands. The tributes which have been paid to his memory, by those who knew him best, bespeak his exalted worth; but the noblest monument of his life and character is the success of the enterprise which he so faithfully labored to promote.*

CHAPTER XV.

FINANCIAL Embarrassment of the Board. — Its Causes. — Question of Slavery. — Correspondence of the Board with the Alabama State Convention. — Formation of the Southern Baptist Convention. — American Baptist Missionary Union. — Visit of Rev. Dr. Judson to the United States. — His return to Burmah with other Missionaries. — Changes in the Missions during his Absence. — Executive Officers of the Board. — Return of Mr. Abbott to Sandoway. — Karen Converts waiting for Baptism. — Appointment of new Missionaries. — Latest Reports from the Missions in Burmah.

DURING the entire period whose events we have narrated in the foregoing chapter, the treasury was constantly embarrassed by the want of sufficient funds, and the action of the Board was in consequence straitened and confined. Many of the missions were suffering for the want of reinforcement or from the

* For a delineation of the character of Dr. Bolles, and a full record of his services, see a Discourse delivered at his funeral by Rev. Daniel Sharp, D. D. Also, American Baptist Missionary Magazine, vol. xxiv, p. 49.

curtailment of their supplies, and some even were on the point of being abandoned. This embarrassment arose in part from the financial pressure which at that time spread over the whole country, and of course curtailed the charities of all classes of the people; but also, and it is to be feared to a still greater extent, from the dissensions which had sprung up in different portions of the Union respecting the institution of slavery in the Southern States.

The great question whether Christianity sanctions the holding of slaves had long been debated through the country and was now agitating the entire Christian community. Among the Baptists, as well as among several other denominations, it was immediately blended with the action of each one of their great national societies. Many individuals and a few churches in the North had already refused to contribute to the treasury of the Convention, alleging as the reason their unwillingness to mingle their funds with those derived from the holders of slaves. At length the Alabama State Convention addressed to the Acting Board a series of resolutions, declaring their views concerning their own rights and immunities, and demanding an "explicit avowal that slaveholders are eligible and entitled equally with non-slaveholders" to any appointments, either as agents or as missionaries, in the gift of the Board. To this communication the Acting Board replied, that in the principles contained in the resolutions they fully concurred, — that all the members of the Convention, alike from the South and the North, whether slaveholders or not, were unquestionably entitled to all the privileges and immunities which the constitution granted or permitted; — but that the constitution of itself guarantied to no one the right to be appointed to any office, agency or mission; that the appointing power was conferred solely upon the Board, they holding themselves accountable to the Convention for its discreet and faithful exercise. With respect, however, to the immediate question which was implied in the resolutions, whether a person holding slaves, but possessing in other respects the requisite qualifications, would be appointed a mis-

sionary, the Acting Board explicitly declared, that "if any one should offer himself as a missionary having slaves, and should insist on retaining them as his property, they could not appoint him."

So soon as this declaration was made public, the churches in all the Southern States withdrew from the Convention and formed a separate organization, adopting as a title "The Southern Baptist Convention." In this state of things it was deemed necessary that the friends of missions in the Baptist denomination in other parts of the country should organize themselves anew, under a constitution better adapted to their altered circumstances. A special meeting of the Board of Managers was accordingly held at Philadelphia, in September, 1845, at which it was determined "to request the President of the General Convention to call an extra session of that body, to be held in the Baptist Tabernacle in the city of New York, on the third Wednesday of November next, at 10 o'clock, A. M." The Convention assembled agreeably to the summons of its President; and after a full consideration of the imperfections of its present organization, entered upon the work of forming a new constitution that should be better suited to the high ends to be accomplished by a missionary body. The Convention had hitherto been composed of triennial members who individually contributed the sum of one hundred dollars each year, or who were elected as members or delegates by churches or societies contributing that sum. It was proposed in its reorganization to limit its operations to one object, and to have it henceforth composed of actual and permanent members, who should be admitted on payment to the treasury at any one time of the sum of one hundred dollars.

A constitution embodying this provision was framed and adopted by the Convention, and arrangements were made for procuring, from the legislature of Pennsylvania, such modifications of the original charter as were required by the changes which had been introduced in its organization; and also, as the property of the association was principally at Boston, to procure from the legislature of Massachusetts an additional charter of

incorporation. These and other necessary legal measures having been accomplished, the Convention with its modified charter and its new organization went into operation in May, 1846, under the name of the "AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION." The debt of the Convention, amounting to forty thousand dollars, was fully provided for by a subscription which was completed before that time; and all its property, together with its engagements and liabilities, was transferred to the Union. Rev. Mr. Shuck, of the mission in China, entered the service of the Southern Convention, while all the other missionaries continued their connection with the Missionary Union.*

Thus amicably and honorably was accomplished a local separation of the Baptists of the South and the North, which had been anticipated only with apprehension and alarm by many of the wisest and most patriotic members of our communion in both parts of the country. Such a separation could not be other than painful, for it drew a dividing line between those who had from the beginning been warm personal friends, and efficient fellow-laborers in the sacred work of giving the gospel to the heathen. The bad consequences, however, which were anticipated from it, the social disunion and strife which were deemed likely to ensue, have thus far been averted, and the cause of true piety and the enterprise of Christian missions have apparently suffered no material detriment. Each missionary organization is now engaged in its appropriate sphere, without rivalry or opposition, in promoting a common object and advancing a common interest of the human race. The churches which are connected with each are learning a loftier piety and practising a larger liberality than ever before; and we may well indulge the animating hope that, in the overruling providence of God, this event, which at first seemed fraught with disaster and strife, will be made to contribute to the more rapid advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom on the earth.

* For details relating to these transactions see American Baptist Magazine, vols. xxv and xxvi.

At the special meeting of the Convention which was held at New York, in November, 1845, was present the Rev. Dr. Adoniram Judson of Burmah, who a few weeks before had arrived in his native land, after an absence of thirty-three years. The venerable missionary was introduced to the Convention in an impressive manner, by Rev. Dr. Cone, one of the oldest members of the Board who were present, and was welcomed by its President, Rev. Dr. Wayland, in an address of great eloquence and beauty, to which, with a feeble voice, he made a brief but touching response. The scene was one of subduing interest, and will never be forgotten by those who beheld it. Hundreds were gazing for the first time upon one, the story of whose labors and sorrows and sufferings had been familiar to them from childhood, and whose name they had been accustomed to utter with reverence and affection as that of the pioneer and father of American missions to the heathen. They recalled the scenes of toil and privation through which he had passed, they remembered the loved ones with whom he had been connected, and their bosoms swelled with irrepressible emotions of gratitude and delight.

To the missionary himself the spectacle must have been still more impressive. He had been absent for more than thirty years, the life-time of an entire generation, dwelling among a heathen people, studying and speaking strange languages; and now, for the first time in his life he was standing among the brethren and friends on whom he had long leaned for support, but whose faces he had never before seen. He was in the land of his birth,—but how changed from all the recollections which dwelt in his mind! Art, commerce, civilization and Christianity had multiplied their wondrous triumphs over every spot with which he was once familiar, till he might well doubt the reality of the scene on which he gazed, and believe himself “the subject of some supernatural illusion or wild and magical dream.”

He had embarked at Maulmain in April, 1845, in company with Mrs. Judson, whose health had so far declined as to afford

no hope of recovery save by a voyage beyond the tropics. Reluctantly, yet in obedience to the promptings of affection and duty, he set his face towards the beloved land he had thought never to revisit. In order to continue the preparation of the Burman Dictionary, in which he had been long engaged, he took with him two assistants who were in his employ, intending to devote a portion of every day during the voyage to the prosecution of his task. The health of Mrs. Judson began speedily to improve beneath the bracing airs of the ocean, and on arriving at the Isle of France he sent back the assistants to Maulmain, intending himself to return soon after. But the hopes of Mrs. Judson's restoration proved illusory. She grew constantly feebler as they proceeded on the voyage, till, on arriving at St. Helena, she died on ship-board, September 1, 1845. Her remains were carried on shore and entombed the same evening, amidst the tenderest demonstrations of sympathy and respect from Christian friends and residents of the island. Early on the following day the solitary missionary, with his three eldest children who had accompanied their parents from Maulmain, pursued his voyage to his native land, and arrived at Boston on the 15th of October.

His arrival at Boston was greeted by the officers of the Board and by the ministers and churches of that city with the liveliest interest and delight. At a public meeting which was held on the following day, he was welcomed back to his native land by Rev. Dr. Sharp, the President of the Board, in a touching address which uttered the sympathies of a crowded auditory; similar greetings were offered him in other cities which he visited, and in every part of the country he was received with an interest and respect such as are seldom publicly accorded to a person of merely private station. These manifestations of regard were not confined to the religious denomination to which he belongs; members of every Christian communion and citizens of every rank were eager to do honor to the man who possessed so many titles to public veneration and gratitude; who had toiled and suffered, as few of the present generation have ever

done, for the benefit of his race and the spread of the gospel in the world. It was no sectarian adulation offered to a distinguished name, but rather the natural homage which Christian civilization pays to the cause of Christian philanthropy; the instinctive admiration of an intelligent and religious people for the character of one who has proved himself a great benefactor of mankind. The lesson is not without its value to the aspirants for renown. His life had been that of the self-denying missionary of the cross; his sphere of duty had been far removed from that in which honor and distinction are wont to bestow their glittering rewards, yet without intending it, he had won them all, and that in the largest measure. For not the scholar who has adorned the literature of his age, not the statesman who has guided by his eloquence the counsels of a senate, has ever gained for himself the sincerer respect of his countrymen, or secured for his name a more honorable place in the annals of fame.

Dr. Judson remained in the United States till the following July; and though he was unable to address public assemblies, yet the influence of his presence at two meetings of the Convention and in the social circles of many different cities, largely contributed to the increase and developement of an interest in the missions which he represented. In June, 1846, he was married to Miss Emily Chubbuck of Hamilton, N. Y., and on the eleventh of July he set sail from Boston on his return to Maulmain, accompanied by Mrs. Judson, by Rev. Messrs. Harris and Beecher and their wives, and Miss Lydia Lillybridge. Mr. and Mrs. Harris were appointed to the Karen department of the Maulmain mission; Mr. and Mrs. Beecher were to go to Arracan, while Miss Lillybridge was to be associated with Dr. and Mrs. Judson as a teacher in the Burman department of the mission. The missionaries arrived at the port of their destination on the fifth of December, and in due time repaired to the spheres of duty severally assigned them.

During the absence of Dr. Judson, Mrs. Mason and Mrs. Ingalls had been removed by death, Mr. Simons had returned to the United States, and Mr. and Mrs. Osgood had retired from

the mission in consequence of ill health.* A change of very great importance had also taken place in the government of the Burman empire. The brutal and tyrannical monarch, Tharawaddy, who usurped the throne in 1837, had been driven from power by his own ministers, and a regency had been formed which, it was hoped by the missionaries, would no longer hinder their attempts to reëstablish the mission in Burmah Proper. A few weeks after his arrival, Dr. Judson repaired to Rangoon in order to ascertain the disposition of the new government with respect to the promulgation of Christianity. After a brief visit he returned to Maulmain, for the purpose of carrying Mrs. Judson with him to Rangoon. They continued to reside there from February 1847 to the following September, but without any countenance either from the local or the imperial government. The little Burman church was much scattered, and, beneath the ceaseless vigilance of priests and officers, few ventured to assemble for worship, and none came to inquire concerning the doctrines of Christ. Dr. Judson, however, baptized two Burman converts, and was gradually gathering together the scattered disciples, when he learned that a private order had been issued to watch the missionary's house, and "apprehend any who might be liable to the charge of favoring Jesus Christ's religion." The services on the Sabbath were immediately discontinued, and he determined to proceed to Ava in order once more to solicit toleration from the imperial government. But the funds then in the treasury of the mission at Maulmain were insufficient to meet the expense. The visit to the capital was therefore temporarily abandoned, and Dr. and Mrs. Judson soon returned to their post at Maulmain, where they have since continued to reside.

In May, 1845, Rev. Dr. Pattison, Corresponding Secretary for the Home Department, resigned the office. Its duties were

* Mr. Mason was also obliged to leave Tavoy on account of enfeebled health. He embarked for the United States, but on reaching Calcutta found his constitution so far recruited that he returned to Maulmain in May, 1847, and is now again at his station at Tavoy.

discharged by Rev. Mr. Peck, the Corresponding Secretary for the Foreign Department, until May 1846, when Rev. Edward Bright, jr., was chosen Assistant Corresponding Secretary, and assigned to the same executive post which had been before filled by Dr. Pattison. Mr. Bright has since been elected to the office of Corresponding Secretary for the Home Department. In June, 1845, Mr. Richard E. Eddy was appointed Assistant Treasurer in the place of Mr. Levi Farwell deceased; and subsequently, in September, 1846, was chosen Treasurer on the resignation of Hon. Heman Lincoln, who had held the office for twenty-two years, and during the whole period had fulfilled its obligations and borne its responsibilities without pecuniary compensation.

Mr. Abbott left the United States on his return to Arracan in August, 1847.* Proceeding by the way of England, he hastened by the overland route to Calcutta, where he arrived November 4th, and reached Sandoway early in December. He made his journey thus rapidly in order to be able to fulfill an engagement with the native assistants attached to his station,—that if his life was spared he would meet them in January, 1848, at Ong-kyoung, the place at which he parted from them three years before. Immediately on his arrival he sent abroad a circular announcing his return, and appointing the meeting which had been agreed upon. In January, Mr. Abbott accompanied by Rev. Mr. Beecher repaired to Ong-kyoung, where he met the assistants and a large number of Christian Karens. The meeting was one of unusual interest. The pastors and preachers whom he had left in charge of the churches scattered over this district of Arracan and the neighboring portion of Burmah Proper, reported the condition of their several flocks.

* The visit of Mr. Abbott to this country was productive of unusually beneficial results. He was fresh from the field of a most interesting mission, and in many churches, over all the land, he narrated the thrilling story of the suffering yet faithful Karens. The interest which was thus awakened in behalf of these remarkable people, we may hope, will not die away till they shall all be converted to Christianity.

The confidence of the missionary in the men whom he had appointed to the work of preaching the gospel to their countrymen, was fully sustained by their fidelity and labors during his absence. Of the two ordained ministers, Tway-Poh, who was at the head of the churches in Arracan, had baptized six hundred converts, and Myat-Kyan who, though living in Arracan, preached most frequently to the Karens from Burmah, had baptized five hundred and fifty. At no period in the history of the mission had the progress of the gospel been more remarkable; and the scene which presented itself to the delighted missionary on his return, was fitted to impart the highest encouragement and awaken the liveliest gratitude. Of the twenty native assistants appointed by Mr. Abbott, but not ordained to the gospel ministry, two had died and one had been suspended, while sixteen others had been added to the number,—so that he found on his return thirty-six native preachers, who reported not less than twelve hundred converts in their several districts, waiting to be baptized and admitted to the churches.

In the autumn of 1847 Rev. W. Moore and his wife, and in 1848 Rev. Messrs. Van Meter, C. C. Moore and Benjamin, with their wives, sailed from this country as reinforcements to the missions in Burmah; one of these was designated to the Burmese of Arracan, and the three others to the Karens in the districts of Maulmain, Sandoway and Tavoy.

Since the return of Rev. Dr. Judson to Maulmain, he has assiduously devoted his labors to the preparation of the Burman and English Dictionary, one part of which is now passing through the press, while the other is far advanced towards completion. While at Rangoon, in 1847, he was frequently urged by the government interpreter there to go up to Ava, in order to avail himself of literary aids which could be found only at the capital, and without which he could not perfect the work in which he is engaged. He was then prevented from going; but his subsequent experience has satisfied him of its necessity, and his latest communications to the Board bear tidings of his intention soon to take passage to Rangoon, and again ascend

the Irrawaddy to the Burman capital. Though the immediate object of the visit is the perfection of the Dictionary, yet it may obviously have an important bearing upon the interests and prospects of the missions. Twenty-three years have elapsed since he was last at the Burman court. In that time a new dynasty has occupied the throne, and new influences have been at work among the people; and it may be that the toleration which the monarch then sternly refused may now be granted, when again asked for by one who has proved himself the lifelong friend of the Burman people, and has conferred the most important benefits upon their language and their literature. The return of the missionary to Ava in these altered circumstances, and with these new claims to the respect of the king and his courtiers, cannot fail to awaken the profoundest interest among the friends of the missions, and to inspire the animating hope that it may be attended with results that shall favor the introduction of Christianity into this idolatrous empire.

Few other changes have taken place in these missions of a character requiring that they be recorded in this general narrative. Although they have been crippled by the death or the departure of several of the missionaries, yet the blessing of Heaven has constantly attended the labors of those who remain. At each of the stations Christianity has made a gradual progress; the churches have received frequent accessions, and the schools have instructed their numerous pupils in the precepts of the gospel. Of the latter, the Burman Boarding School conducted by Mr. Howard, and the Karen Normal School which has been commenced by Mrs. Binney, possess a peculiar interest and importance. Both of these schools are designed to separate children in early life from the evil influences to which they are exposed in their daily associations, and, without changing their national characteristics, to train them up in the industrious habits, the useful knowledge, and the domestic virtues of Christian society. The Normal School was commenced in 1846; it has, almost from the beginning, numbered thirty pupils, — most of whom are boys, — who will remain under the teacher's charge.

until they have received the rudiments of an education that will fit them to become instructors and exemplars for their countrymen. Some changes have also taken place in the schools which are designed especially for theological instruction and the more efficient training of native preachers and assistants. The Burman class, which has been under the care of Mr. Stevens, has been greatly reduced in number, most of its recent members being now engaged in preaching in the city and the districts of Maulmain. Of the schools for the Karens, that which is the most strictly theological in its character is the Seminary at Maulmain under the charge of Mr. Binney. The course of instruction here is becoming more thorough, and is awakening with every succeeding session a more hearty interest in the minds of the pupils. The Seminary has now twenty-five members, who, with suitable vacations, continue at their studies through the entire year. In addition to this, the leading institution for the training of Karen preachers, the native assistants during every rainy season are assembled in classes and instructed at Tavoy by Mr. Cross, and at Sandoway by Mr. Abbott and Mr. Beecher. The number thus collected during the last season at Tavoy was twenty-eight, and that at Sandoway was thirty. In this manner are the missionaries establishing the institutions of the gospel among these untaught people, and spreading over them the amenities of social and intellectual culture as well as the saving influences of Christian truth.

Large editions of the Burman Bible had already been printed, but the press has been multiplying copies of the New Testament in both dialects of the Karen, and also in the Peguan, or Taling; and in addition to these it has printed, and sent forth over the whole empire, millions of pages of tracts and other writings which explain to the people the doctrines taught by the missionaries. Many of these undoubtedly perish, uncared-for and unread; but the greater number, there is reason to believe, find their way to the mind of the nation, and in city and country, by rivers and mountains, are sowing the seeds of a purer religion and a happier civilization for the inhabitants of Bur-

mah. Assiduous labor and threatening disease have thinned the ranks of the missionaries, and compelled many of them to return to the United States in order to recruit their declining health.* Here, however, they are for the most part engaged in the prosecution of works commenced at the missions, or in the no less important service of setting forth the degraded and darkened condition of the heathen, and urging their claims upon the philanthropy of the Christian public. In addition to those, however, who are still detained in their native land, the number of missionaries who are now attached to the several missions in Burmah is twenty males and eighteen females,—of whom nineteen are ordained ministers of the gospel, two are connected with the press, while the ladies at each of the stations are engaged in the instruction of the schools. There are also employed in the various departments of missionary labor, not less than one hundred and ten native assistants,—of whom twenty-six are Burmans, or Peguans, while all the others are Karens. The entire appropriations of the Board for these several missions in all their departments, for the year ending March 31, 1849, amounted to thirty-four thousand dollars. The whole number of churches under their care is about sixty-five, connected with which are not less than six thousand five hundred members.

The missions in Burmah formed the earliest enterprise of Christian philanthropy in which our churches were enlisted, and on this account, if on no other, they are fraught with the most interesting associations and the most affecting memories. They had their origin with the men of a generation most of whose representatives have passed from among the living; and, through the lapse of more than thirty years, they have been the subject of earnest solicitude and hope,—the burden of humble prayer,

* For this cause Mr. and Mrs. Vinton, and Mr. and Mrs. Wade, are now in this country—the former having arrived in the spring, and the latter in the summer of 1848. Mr. Vinton is accompanied by two Karens, a Pwo and a Sgan, with whose assistance he is revising the version of the New Testament in each of the Karen dialects.

and the incitement of Christian effort to our whole denomination. But apart from all these associations of the past, their history is crowded with vicissitudes of the most striking character—with instances of heroic self-devotion and life-long labor,—with scenes of trial and suffering, and with spiritual successes and triumphs, such as are seldom chronicled in the records of modern missions; and if with these features of their character we connect the simple story of the Karens,—their oppressions and their untold wrongs,—their mysterious traditions and their wonderful conversion to Christianity,—the missions in Burmah become invested with the deepest and most thrilling interest to every Christian mind. They present the extraordinary spectacle of a whole people turning to the worship of God; coming forth from their mountain retreats or from the depths of their unvisited jungle, and eagerly accepting the doctrines and the faith of the gospel of Christ. To those who have visited their stations, and especially to the philanthropic English officers* who govern the provinces in which they are established, they have commended themselves as agencies of the highest importance and of unexampled success in promoting the social and the spiritual culture of the people for whom they are designed. To the American public, and especially to the members of the Christian denomination by whom they were planted, they appeal by the strongest considerations for liberal support and continued enlargement; for they present a field of philanthropic effort, of encouraging missionary labor, such as is rarely to be found in any other missions upon the globe.

*Among these I record with peculiar pleasure the names of Majors Burney and Broadfoot and of Capt. H. M. Durand. Each of these gentlemen has filled the office of Civil Commissioner in the Tenasserim provinces, and each has lent a generous aid in promoting the interests of the missions. Captain Durand especially, during his residence in Burmah, was a warm personal friend of the missionaries, and an active and zealous fellow-laborer with them in establishing schools, in erecting chapels, and in advancing the social and spiritual progress of the people. Since his return to England he has borne the most unequivocal testimony to their industry, piety and fidelity, and in many a circle of the doubting and the uninformed, has delighted to narrate the progress of the gospel among the Karens as a triumphant vindication of the cause of Christian missions.

MISSIONS IN SIAM AND CHINA.

CHAPTER XVI.

ARRIVAL of Rev. J. T. Jones at Bangkok. — Character of the Siamese. — Arrival of Mr. Dean. — His Labors among the Chinese at Bangkok. — A Chinese Church. — Arrival of other Missionaries. — Progress of Chinese Department. — Death of Mr. Reed and Mrs. Jones. — Printing the Scriptures in Siamese. — Arrival of Messrs. Slafter and Goddard. — Death of Mr. Slafter. — Progress of each Department of the Mission. — Temporary Station at Macao. — Chinese War. — Its Results. — Removal of Missionaries to Hongkong. — Death of Mrs. Dean. — Station at Ningpo. — Treaty between China and the United States. — Its Results. — Death of Mrs. Shuck. — Prospects of the Station at Hongkong. — Condition of the Mission at Bangkok. — Translations of the Bible in China. — Labors of Messrs. Dean and Goddard. — Present Attitude of these Missions.

THE Mission of the American Baptists in Siam is designed in part for the Siamese, and in part for the Chinese, who are found there in great numbers, and until within a few years have been wholly inaccessible in their own country. It was commenced in March, 1833, by Rev. J. T. Jones, formerly of Rangoon, who with Mrs. Jones at that time established his residence at Bangkok, the capital of the kingdom. The city had already been visited at different times by Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff of the Basle Missionary Society, Rev. Mr. Abeel of the American Board, and more recently by Rev. Mr. Toumlin of the London Missionary Society. These gentlemen however had all gone to other fields of labor; and the latter on his departure had written to the Baptist Missionaries in Burmah, urging them to send some of their number to Siam. In was in these circumstances, and by the appointment of his brethren at Maulmain, that Mr. Jones went to Bangkok for the purpose of commencing a mission there.

The city stands upon the river Meinam, the chief river of Siam, about twenty-five miles from the sea. It is built in part upon an island in the middle of the river, and in part upon either bank, along which it extends for several miles. Its appearance, to one approaching it from the sea, is far from imposing, though it is said to contain many magnificent buildings, and to be distinguished for its profuse display of oriental wealth and splendor. The population has been variously estimated; by some it has been put as low as 40,000, while by others it has been reckoned at upwards of 400,000. Mr. Malcom, who was at considerable pains to form a correct estimate, makes the number of inhabitants in the city and its immediate suburbs, about 100,000, of whom not more than 3,000 or 4,000 live within the walls. They are made up of many different races, and present a motley variety of costume, manners, language and modes of life. The Chinese are the most numerous, and number not less than 60,000. Of the remainder 30,000 are Siamese, and 10,000 are of other races, such as Cochin Chinese, Peguans, Malays and Portuguese.

The religion of Siam, as of Burmah, is Buddhism, though in Bangkok it is not a little modified by the variety of forms in which it is professed by the different races composing the population. The Siamese are a grade lower in civilization than the Burmans. They are less active and intelligent, and are equally addicted to the vices of half civilized life. In personal appearance they are said to be among the least attractive of the Asiatic races, but they are by no means among the most degraded. Though mean, slothful, crafty and rapacious, they are described as possessing qualities which indicate that they are not wanting in capacity for civilization. Their language is exceedingly simple, and is far more easily acquired than the Burman, though it contains but little literature, and the number of Siamese who can read is said to be unusually small.

On arriving at Bangkok in 1833, Mr. Jones was courteously received by several of the officers of the court to whom he became known, and was soon able, without opposition or molestation, to commence the labors of the mission. His house became

a place of frequent resort for a large circle of persons, — Chinese, Burmans and Peguans, — who came to converse with him concerning the doctrines which he taught. He found the Chinese part of the population by far the most accessible and inquisitive; but as he was unacquainted with their language he was able to reach only those who could speak the Burman or the Peguan tongue. The four earliest converts were Chinese. Two of them had formerly been instructed by Messrs. Gutzlaff and Abeel, — and seemed to have been converted by their instrumentality. They were all baptized by Mr. Jones on the 8th of December, 1833; and one of them, named Chek Bunti, was immediately appointed an assistant in the mission, to take charge of a school for Chinese boys, and also to conduct worship in Chinese on the Sabbath.

Mr. Jones soon acquired such familiarity with the language as to feel justified in commencing the translation of the Scriptures. The Gospel of Matthew was completed in 1835, and a catechism of the New Testament was also gotten ready for the press. He accordingly repaired to Singapore in order to have them printed at the press of the mission of the American Board, which was established there. A large edition of each of these works was speedily printed, and in the following June he returned to Siam, furnished with additional means of carrying forward the labors of his mission.

The mission at Bangkok had been commenced without waiting to obtain the sanction of the Board of Managers; they however immediately gave it their full approbation. A treaty of amity and commerce had recently been concluded between the government of the United States and the King of Siam, and the attention of the Board had already been directed to that country as furnishing, on account of its intimate relations with China, a suitable field for missionary operations among the Chinese. On learning that Mr. Jones had gone to Bangkok, they immediately determined to carry out their design and to send additional missionaries to the station. In this manner Bangkok became the seat of missionary labors both for the Siamese and for the

Chinese, great numbers of whom reside in Siam or are constantly drawn thither in the intercourse of trade.

In pursuance of this design, Rev. William Dean and his wife sailed from the United States in September, 1834, and arrived at Singapore in February, 1835, during the visit of Mr. Jones at that port. They determined to remain at Singapore, engaged in studying the Chinese language, until the printing of the Gospel of Matthew should be completed; but during the interval Mrs. Dean was suddenly summoned away by death, only a few weeks after their arrival. Mr. Dean accompanied Mr. Jones to Bangkok in the following June, and entered immediately upon his labors as a missionary to the Chinese. In December, three other Chinamen were baptized and added to the little band of disciples. Indeed the Chinese inhabitants of Siam soon began to evince a greater interest in the teachings of the missionaries than the native Siamese, and even to the present day nearly all the spiritual fruits of the mission at Bangkok have been among them.

So strong however is the appetite for opium among these people, and so ruinous are the effects of its use, that the missionaries early found it necessary to adopt special precautions in order to fortify the converts against its seductive influence. They were formed into an association, in which they pledged themselves to each other to abstain from the use of the intoxicating and enervating drug. But in spite of every precaution, Chek Bunti, the assistant in the mission and one of the earliest converts, yielded to the temptation and fell away from the faith which he professed. Others also were at first corrupted by his evil example; but most of them soon returned in penitence, to confess the shame they had brought upon the cause of the new religion.

In March, 1836, Mr. Jones having completed the translation of the Acts of the Apostles, went again to Singapore to obtain fonts of types both in Siamese and Chinese, in anticipation of the arrival of a press which had been promised from America. He extended his voyage to Penang and Malacca for the benefit

of Mrs. Jones's health, and on his return to Singapore found that Rev. Messrs. Davenport, Reed, and Shuck, with their wives, had arrived during his absence, bringing with them the expected press, and the necessary materials for printing. Messrs. Davenport and Reed soon accompanied him to Bangkok, the former to be attached as preacher and printer to the Siamese, and the latter to be associated with Mr. Dean in the Chinese department of the mission, while Mr. Shuck remained at Singapore, intending soon to commence a station either at Macao or at Canton.

The mission was now fairly started at Bangkok. A commodious printing house was erected, together with a strong store made of brick, for containing the paper and other materials, and keeping them secure from dampness and from the insects that might destroy them. The press was kept constantly in operation under the direction of Mr. Davenport, printing books and tracts, both in Siamese and in Chinese. Mr. Dean occupied a floating house on the river, and was constantly engaged in labors for the Chinese population, having at his house on Sundays and other days of preaching, congregations varying from thirty to fifty persons; while Mr. Jones still devoted himself to the translation of the Scriptures into Siamese, the preparation of tracts, and to visiting the *Wats*, or places of worship, for the purpose of conversing with the people and preaching to them the doctrines of the gospel. He also made several excursions up the river Meinam and short distances into the interior, in order to become acquainted with the population and to distribute tracts and books which he had prepared for their instruction. Schools were also established in which the few pupils who could be induced to attend were instructed by the ladies of the mission. The parents, both among the Siamese and the Chinese, generally refused to allow their children to attend the schools of the missionaries, alleging as reasons that they did not wish them taught not to worship priests and idols, and that in case they were in need of money they might choose to sell them as slaves. Indeed a considerable portion of the scholars, who have been retained in the schools long enough to receive even the rudiments of an edu-

cation, have been such as were redeemed from slavery either by the influence or the direct purchase of the missionaries themselves.

In the summer of 1837 the mission at Bangkok was visited by Rev. Mr. Malcom, in his official tour in the East, and while he was there its several members, together with the three Chinese converts who still remained faithful, were formed into a Christian church. Three others were added soon afterwards, and the labors of the mission, particularly among the Chinese, continued to prosper until they were interrupted by changes and bereavements which filled the hearts of all its members with sorrow. The first of these was the death of Mr. Reed, which took place in August, 1837, just as he had completed his novitiate as a missionary, and was commencing the work of preaching in Chinese, for which he had been long preparing. In October of the same year Mr. Dean, having seen his fellow-laborer smitten down by his side, found his own health seriously undermined, and was obliged to make a voyage to Singapore for its recovery. While the mission was thus reduced in numbers and in strength, it pleased Heaven again to visit it with another heavy affliction in the sudden death of Mrs. Jones. She was seized by that dreadful scourge of the East, the spasmodic cholera, and died in March, 1838. She had been a missionary for nine years, and, in feeble health, amidst many disadvantages, had mastered both the Burman and the Siamese language, and performed an unusual amount of service, especially among her own sex, in the missions with which she had been connected. In addition to this she had translated into Siamese two books of the Old Testament, and prepared a dictionary of several thousand words of that language. She died happy in the consciousness that her efforts to give the gospel to the heathen had not been in vain; for she had seen many of her own sex, so neglected and degraded by the social systems of the East, raised by her instrumentality to the liberty and dignity which the gospel of Christ alone can confer.

Mr. Dean having extended his voyage from Singapore to

Macao and Canton, was married at Macao to Miss Theodosia Ann Barker, an English lady resident there, with whom he returned to Bangkok in May, 1838. Mr. Jones had for some time been engaged in revising his translations of the New Testament. He had now completed the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, together with the Acts of the Apostles, and was already commencing some of the Epistles, and at the same time enlarging and perfecting the dictionary which had been begun by other hands, whose labors, alas! were now closed by death. The arrangements for printing, which had proved exceedingly defective on account of the imperfection of the types, were also perfected in the summer of 1838 by the arrival of the necessary material for a type foundry, which was procured at Malacca by Mr. Jones of Mr. Dyer, a gentleman in the employ of the London Missionary Society. A second printing press was also added to the property of the mission in December, 1838. With these additional facilities the work of printing was resumed; tracts and copies of the gospel and other portions of the Scriptures were rapidly multiplied, and nearly a million of pages were also struck off for the use of the missionaries of the American Board who were stationed in Bangkok.*

In June, 1839, Rev. Messrs. Slafter and Goddard with their wives arrived at Singapore, having been appointed by the Board as a reinforcement of the mission in Siam. Mr. Slafter carried with him an additional press and proceeded immediately to Bangkok, where he became associated with Mr. Jones in labors among the Siamese. His career as a missionary was brought to an early close. He speedily acquired the language, and made several excursions in different directions into the interior for the purpose of circulating books and conversing with the people; but ere he had scarcely begun the work of preaching the gospel, he fell a victim to disease, and died on the 7th of April, 1841. Mr. Goddard, who was originally designated to the Chinese

*The mission of this Board at Bangkok was commenced in 1834, before it was known to the Commissioners in the United States that Mr. Jones had gone to Siam.

department of the mission, remained at Singapore for more than a year, studying the language, and in other ways preparing himself for the labors of his post. He went to Bangkok in October, 1840, and immediately entered upon the routine of duties which there awaited him.

The operations of both branches of the mission have been frequently interrupted by changes occasioned by the ill health of the missionaries, yet they have been attended with very different measures of success. Among the Siamese, the gospel has been preached, and that too with scarcely any opposition from either the government or the priesthood of the country. The entire New Testament* and several books of the Old Testament have been translated and printed, and tracts and books have been given to the people in unusual numbers, and with all desirable care on the part of the missionaries to insure their being read, but no corresponding results have thus far followed. Not a single Siamese† has been converted to Christianity, and scarcely any durable impression has been made on the imperturbable indifference with which the mind of the nation seems to regard religious truth. It is true they appear to have read the books, and often to have expressed opinions concerning them. The priests have in many instances acknowledged the utterly false and fabulous character of their own sacred writings; yet neither priests nor people have thus far recognized the obligations of Christianity, or been attracted by the simple beauty of its heavenly message. This department of the mission at Bangkok has in consequence failed to create the interest which its connection with a populous kingdom would of itself naturally inspire. Its missionaries, always few in number, have often been obliged to remit their labors in consequence of enfeebled health. Mr. Jones has twice visited the United States. Mrs. Reed and Mrs. Slafter, who were for some time engaged in schools, have both withdrawn from the mission; and

* This was accomplished by Mr. Jones, in 1839.

† The conversion of the first Siamese is reported in a recent letter from the mission. See American Baptist Magazine, March, 1849

Mr. and Mrs. Davenport, unable longer to labor in the climate of Siam, returned to this country in 1845, and have since ceased to be missionaries.

In 1843, Mr. Chandler, a machinist and type-founder connected with the mission at Maulmain, went to reside at Bangkok. He has been attached to the printing department, and has rendered much valuable incidental service in introducing the mechanic arts into the kingdom. For this purpose he accepted the invitation of Prince Momfanoi to aid him in building several kinds of machinery after American models. The arrangements which were adopted were designed to be specially favorable to the improvement of the Siamese artisans; and so respectful was the prince to the religious principles of Mr. Chandler, that he directed his laborers to cease from work on the Sabbath, — and though they were often hurried in their labors, yet the rule was faithfully observed for more than a year. But notwithstanding these and other incidental results which have been accomplished, it must still be confessed that little hold has thus far been gained upon the mind of the Siamese; and after fifteen years of the labors of the missionaries, prosecuted amidst all the advantages of the press and of the translated Scriptures, Siam now presents not a single Christian church for her own people rising among her countless temples of heathenism, and scarcely a single worshipper of the true God kneeling in spiritual devotion amidst her millions of idolaters.

The branch of the mission among the Chinese population of Bangkok has been attended by many encouragements. This station, and the station at Macao, where Mr. and Mrs. Shuck went to reside in September, 1836, were designed to be points of approach from which the missionaries might at length extend their labors to China itself. They were both commenced at a period when the teachers of religion and the agents of commerce were alike studiously excluded from the empire, and when of all its countless population, the doctrines of the gospel could be made known only to those who were living away from its scornful prejudices, and beyond the jurisdiction of its haughty

despotism. It was found at these, and at other neighboring posts at which Christian missions had been planted for their benefit, that the Chinese were far more accessible than had been imagined; and that, when away from China, they evinced far less of their characteristic contempt for the civilization and religion of Christian nations. They are separated from the rest of mankind by a language of the greatest difficulty; yet, when this has been fully mastered by the missionaries, they have proved themselves by no means indifferent to the appeals of moral truth; and though even to this day but little has been accomplished by the combined efforts of all the missionaries who have been sent to them, yet many of the strongest barriers to the diffusing of the gospel have been removed, and both among the learned and the unlearned there are now found those who have received the religion of Christ.

At the Bangkok station, Mr. Dean and Mr. Goddard were for two years after the arrival of the latter the only missionaries among the Chinese. Mr. Dean was employed as a preacher and preparer of books and tracts, and also instructed the native assistants in Christian theology, and in other ways directed them in the performance of their labors. Mr. Goddard, with here and there a brief interval of interruption, has been up to a recent period assiduously engaged in the service of the mission as a preacher and a translator of the Scriptures. In 1840 the members of the church were nine in number; in the following year seven more were added, and each succeeding year has witnessed some accession to the little band. Portions of both the Old and the New Testament have been prepared and printed by the missionaries, and tracts and books have been circulated among the people, and also, by means of the sailors and merchants who come to Bangkok from every port in China, have been scattered along the entire coast, and it may be far into the interior of the empire.

At Macao, a port under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, Mr. Shuck met with the same facilities for laboring among the Chinese. In September, 1841, Rev. Issachar J. Roberts, who

had for some time been residing at Macao as a missionary of a society then existing in the Western States, entered into the service of the Board, and became associated with Mr. Shuck. Two or three Chinese were baptized at this station, and tidings of the gospel were borne widely abroad by the wanderings of those who had conversed with the missionaries or read the tracts and books which they distributed. Small, however, and quite inadequate were the fruits which had been borne at this station, when, in 1841, missionary labors among the Chinese were for a time interrupted by the breaking out of the war between England and China, and the blockade of the port of Macao.

This war was regarded by the religious public, both in England and in this country, as one whose objects were wholly unjustifiable, and whose results would probably tend still further to alienate the empire from all Christian nations. Serious difficulties had been pending for three years between the two nations, arising mainly from the attempts of the emperor to suppress the trade in opium in which the English were largely engaged. Several acts of hostility were perpetrated in 1840; and in the following spring, having collected large naval and military forces at the island of Hongkong, the English proceeded to invest Canton and several other leading cities along the coast. It was not till after the sacrifice of immense treasure and the lives of thousands of his subjects, that the emperor would accept the terms dictated by the English minister plenipotentiary, in a manner so humiliating to imperial pride. At length, in August, 1842, a treaty of perpetual amity was concluded, which has altered the relations of China to the entire civilized world. By the terms of the treaty the island of Hongkong, lying at the mouth of the Canton river, was ceded to "the queen of England, her heirs and successors forever," and the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuhchau, Ningpo and Shanghai, were opened to British commerce, and the residence of British officers and merchants. Thus, as has often happened in the collisions of nations, did a war which was begun in order to promote

an iniquitous traffic, finally terminate in the extension of Christian civilization and in preparing the way for the ultimate introduction of the gospel into the most populous empire of the globe.

The result was hailed with thankfulness and joy by the friends of missions in all parts of the world as most auspicious to the cause which they were engaged in promoting; and in England especially, it awakened new feelings of obligation to send the blessings of Christianity to the distant people thus subjugated by her arms. The English immediately began to occupy the ports which were opened for their residence, and the American missionaries to the Chinese, who had been residing at Bangkok and Macao, determined to remove to China, and establish the mission at such of the free ports as might prove most advantageous and inviting. Mr. Roberts had already gone from Macao to Hongkong in February, 1842, and was followed a few months later by Mr. and Mrs. Shuck. Mr. Dean also left Bangkok in February, 1842, and after lingering at Singapore and Macao for the benefit of his health, arrived at Hongkong in the following June. Though the treaty had not then been ratified, yet the free ports were all in the hands of the English, — and the missionaries, availing themselves of the protection afforded by the British flag, immediately set about ascertaining the different points at which stations might most advantageously be planted. For this purpose Mr. Dean accepted the invitation of the captain and supercargo of the *Lowell*, the first American ship which entered the eastern harbors of China, to take passage to Kulangsu, Chusan and Amoy. At each of these places he made inquiries and observations respecting the object he had in view, and also obtained much valuable information concerning the other cities on the coast which were likely to be opened to the commerce of the English. He returned in October apparently most favorably impressed with Amoy as the future seat of the mission; but as the extent of the toleration which would be granted to a foreign religion was not yet fully known, it was decided to plant the principal



station for the present at Hongkong, which was already presenting a most inviting field for missionary labor. The island has several towns, all of which, beneath the freedom and security of the English rule, are rapidly growing in population, and are evidently destined to assume a commanding importance. Messrs. Dean and Shuck accordingly established themselves at the principal city of Hongkong — now known as Victoria, while Mr. Roberts went to Chek-chu, a smaller town on the south side of the island.

At Victoria a lot was granted by the government on which a mission house was erected; two commodious chapels were also built, to be used alike for public worship and for schools; and the expenses of these buildings were defrayed principally by English gentlemen then residing at Hongkong and Macao, among whom was Sir Henry Pottinger, the negotiator of the treaty. A church of five members, in addition to the missionaries, was organized and placed under the care of Mr. Shuck, to which four others were added by the close of 1842. A chapel was also erected at Chek-chu, in which Mr. Roberts conducted service both in English and in Chinese, and also superintended a school for Chinese youth, which was instructed in part by one of the disciples who had come up from Siam. Thus, under the supervision of these three missionaries, were planted the earliest missions of the American Baptists in that ancient and hitherto unknown empire, which embraces beneath its sway nearly a fourth part of the human race. They had long been laboring among the Chinese, but now for the first time were their stations established in China. Though for the present limited to a single island, yet both the missionaries and their friends in America exulted in the thought that the barriers of ages were at length broken down, and that the way was now open to the country on whose confines they had long been eagerly waiting.

In March, 1843, the mission was bereft of Mrs. Dean, a lady of superior culture and most exemplary piety. Born at Thetford, England, she had come to China in 1836 in the service of

the "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East." At the period of her marriage to Mr. Dean she had already acquired the language; and an extensive acquaintance with the manners and religious opinions of the people and their acquirements, together with the eminent advantages which she had enjoyed in England, fitted her for high usefulness in her subsequent capacity as the wife of a Christian missionary; and, whether at the solitary station at Bangkok or beneath the victorious flag of her own countrymen at Hongkong, she ever proved herself a judicious adviser and a devoted laborer in the mission which she had adopted. Mr. Dean, from the commencement of his labors among the Chinese, had been accustomed to the Tie-Chiù dialect, and hence most readily directed his attention to the people of that province who resided at Hongkong or occasionally visited the island for the purposes of trade. He had maintained public worship in this dialect for several months; and in May, 1843, a second church was constituted at Victoria, composed of three members from the Tie Chiù province. The church was placed under the charge of Mr. Dean, whose health however had now become so far enfeebled as often to interrupt his labors, and intimate to him that he must soon suspend them altogether and go to a more genial climate.

The mission at Hongkong, though still subjected to interruptions and bereavements, soon became highly prosperous. Its interests and objects were favored by many of the English officers and residents, and the Chinese people heard the gospel preached in their different dialects, or read its precepts in the written language which is common to them all. Accessions were made to the churches, and all the interests of the station assumed a most encouraging aspect. In the spring of 1843 Dr. D. J. Macgowan arrived at Hongkong, and became connected with the mission. He, however, soon went up to Canton, and, after spending several weeks with Dr. Parker in professional observations and practice in the hospital there, he took passage to Chusan and Ningpo, and at the latter place established a mission-hospital, in

which he has since been usefully employed in connection with various labors as a religious teacher.*

The treaty which had been concluded between Great Britain and China had created the deepest interest in the commercial circles of both Europe and America; and other nations were eager to obtain for themselves the commercial advantages which it was supposed were secured to England by its stipulations. In the summer of 1843 the government of the United States despatched an embassy to China, at the head of which was placed Hon. Caleb Cushing, for the purpose of opening diplomatic intercourse with the emperor. Mr. Cushing arrived at Macao in the following February. He was there met by the commissioner appointed by the emperor, and the terms of a treaty were mutually agreed upon, which was signed by the representatives of the two countries on the 3d of July, 1844, at Wanghia, a small town in the vicinity of Macao. The new treaty embodied all the important features of that which had been negotiated with the English; and in addition provided for the erection of chapels, hospitals, and cemeteries, at each one of the five ports, and at the same time for other commercial advantages, which were also to be extended to all nations. Its effect has undoubtedly been to secure to the American missionaries and other American residents many privileges, which without it they would have had only by sufferance from their connection with the English.† It has given to the missions from this country a permanent footing in China, and distinctly recognized them as among the interests that are to receive the protection of the government.

* This hospital appears to have been at first the joint establishment of Dr. Macgowan and Dr. Macartey, of the American Presbyterian Mission. Dr. Macgowan has now associated with him Rev. E. C. Lord as preacher, thus making what has always been found the most useful combination of labors among the Chinese.

† At present it is said that we are held in special favor by the Chinese. Our merchants have undoubtedly profited by the fact, and our missionaries have on several occasions been saluted with peculiar regard, as belonging to "the nation of the flowery flag."

But these fair prospects of the mission have also been shaded by afflictive events, which for a time diminished its efficiency and tended to discourage its members and friends. In November, 1844, Mrs. Shuck died at Victoria, after a brief illness. She was the daughter of Rev. Addison Hall, of Virginia, and sailed from the United States with her husband in the autumn of 1835, destined for the mission in Siam. Their residence, however, was at Macao, where Mrs. Shuck early began to devote herself to the duties of her station. In her sudden death many tender ties were sundered and many fond hopes were blighted, for she was summoned away just at the beginning of the new era of the mission to which she had long been attached.* Mr. Dean also, at nearly the same time, was obliged temporarily to abandon his post and return to the United States in order to recruit his health. He arrived in New York in March, 1845, and after spending upwards of a year in this country,† returned with recruited energies to the station at Hongkong. The mission had also been strengthened by the arrival of Dr. Devan and his wife in the autumn of 1844. They subsequently removed to Canton, where a mission-house was erected and several assistants were employed. Their connection, however, with the mission in China was brief. Mrs. Devan died, much lamented, at Canton, in October, 1846, and her husband, finding himself unable to reside permanently in the climate of the tropics, returned to the United States, and has since been transferred to the mission in France. Mr. Shuck also returned to this country in the spring of 1845, when, at his own request, he was transferred from the service of the Missionary Union to that of the Southern Baptist Convention, by whom the mission buildings at Canton were purchased. But,

* A valuable memoir of her useful life has been prepared by Rev. J. B. Jeter.

† Mr. Dean was accompanied by Ko Abak, a Christian Chinaman, with whom he visited many of the churches in the Northern and Western States, every where addressing crowded auditories, on the religious condition of China. His visit was to many a church the beginning of a new interest in Christian missions.

amidst all these changes, some of them causing serious interruption to the labors of the mission, its interests have continued to prosper in some humble manner, and its churches have gradually increased.

The station at Hongkong is represented as especially promising. Though long regarded with doubt by the missionaries of other societies, and occupied by our own not without hesitation, this island is now admitted to possess advantages which belong to none of the neighboring ports. The people here are entirely accessible and free from many of the jealousies which characterize those of Canton and the districts around it. Here too, in connection with the station, and under the care of the missionaries, is the largest and most flourishing Christian church in all China. Rev. John Johnson and his wife * were added to the station in 1848, and Rev. E. C. Lord and his wife were added to that at Ningpo in the year preceding; and the mission, though still in its infancy, has already taken an honorable rank among the agencies which are now employed by a benignant Providence, in introducing the blessings of Christian civilization into the most ancient empire of the world.

In the mission at Bangkok, after the close of the war in China, all preaching in the Siamese department was for a time suspended in consequence of the absence of Mr. Jones. He returned to the station in January, 1847, accompanied by Mrs. Jones and Miss Harriet H. Morse, the latter lady being appointed to teach in the Siamese schools. Since that period the labors of the missionaries have been prosecuted with renewed hope, and have evidently been regarded by the people with less indifference than before. The presses have been generally kept in operation under the direction of Messrs. Jones and Chandler, and have furnished multitudes of books and tracts in Siamese, Peguan and Chinese, for both departments of the mission.

Among the Chinese, Mr. Goddard has continued the work of preaching and translating, to which he early devoted himself

* Mrs. Johnson died soon after her arrival at Hongkong.

with singular assiduity, interrupted only by occasional ill health. The church of which he has had the charge, though frequently diminished by deaths and removals, now numbers twenty-three members, and constitutes the germ of a Christian society which is deemed exceedingly important on account of its bearings, not upon Bangkok alone, but upon the multitudes of Chinese who frequently visit that city in their widely extended traffic along the shores of Eastern Asia. In 1846 an accession was made to this department of the mission by the arrival of Rev. E. N. Jencks and his wife. The health of Mrs. Jencks, like that of most of the ladies who had preceded her at the station, began almost immediately to decline, and she has since died while on a passage with her husband to the United States. The vacancy thus created in the station at Bangkok has been supplied by the appointment of Rev. Samuel J. Smith, a young man born in the East and educated in this country, to whom the language of Siam is almost vernacular. He sailed in October, 1848, and was designated especially to the work of preaching to the Siamese, — a work which he would be able to enter upon soon after he should arrive at Bangkok.

In 1843 several meetings of both English and American missionaries to the Chinese, of different denominations, were held at Hongkong, for the purpose of adopting measures to secure a standard version of the sacred Scriptures in the language of the country.* After repeated consultations it was

* The entire Bible had long before been translated into Chinese by Rev. Dr. Morrison, the earliest English missionary to China, assisted by Rev. W. Milne. It was printed at Macao in 1818, at a press sent out by the London Missionary Society. Another translation was also made by Rev. Dr. Marshman of the Serampore Baptist Mission, which was printed at the mission press in 1822. The expenses of both these editions were principally defrayed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Both have been pronounced unusually faithful and correct translations, considering the circumstances in which they were made, though that by Dr. Marshman, on account of its foreign dress, has never been much circulated in China. A dictionary of the Chinese was also prepared by Dr. Morrison, and published in 1823 in six quarto volumes, at an expense of £12,000. For an account of the various missionary labors in China, see Medhurst's *History of China*, and Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, ch. 19.

proposed that a general committee should be formed, who should submit a portion of the New Testament for translation to each of the several missionary stations that might be willing to share in the undertaking; that the portions thus translated should be returned for the revision of the general committee, and by them submitted for final examination and approval to the Bible Societies of England or America. The project was at first regarded with favor by the American Baptist missionaries, and by them recommended to the Board, who authorized the removal of Mr. Goddard from Bangkok to Hongkong in order to engage in the work of translation. His departure however at that time, in the absence of Mr. Jones from Bangkok, would have left the station there entirely unoccupied, and it was on that account delayed. Since then doubts have been entertained respecting the practicability of the plan, and some disapprobation of the arrangement having been expressed by the American and Foreign Bible Society, the missionaries, with the approbation of the Board, have decided not to enter into it but to make a version of their own. This Mr. Goddard and Mr. Dean have been for some time engaged in executing. In order to facilitate the work, and to prosecute it in the most favorable circumstances, Mr. Goddard has left the station at Bangkok and is now settled at Ningpo. The translation of the Scriptures into Chinese is a task of peculiar difficulty, arising from the genius of the language; but they have already completed several books of the New Testament which are soon to be printed, and it is hoped that their version when finally accomplished, with the use of all the aids at their command, will not be inferior to any other by whatever hands it may be executed.

If the importance of these missions may be estimated by the extent of the countries in which they are established, or the numbers and characters of the people for whom they are designed, we may surely rank them among the foremost of those in which our denomination is now engaged. It is not its past success which gives character to either. The people of Siam have thus far entirely refused the gospel, while but here and

there a few among the Chinese have embraced its truths; yet the present attitude of each of these missions, thus offering the blessings of Christianity to two powerful nations, is one of unusual interest. Their career and their destiny will undoubtedly be greatly affected by the changes which may take place in the East,—now just beginning to be deeply stirred by the influences of western commerce and western civilization. The events of every month are accumulating new proofs of the amazing superiority of Christianity over all the systems of oriental faith, and are loosening the hold of Buddhism upon the minds of the people. The religion of the Bible is thus gaining a freer course and a fairer opportunity, for continued progress.

Among the Chinese the mission is just entering upon a new era of its history. Long excluded from the empire and confined to her exiled and wandering people, it has at length planted itself within the walls; and, side by side with the missions of other societies and other nations, it has commenced the work of giving the gospel to the most populous country of the globe. Its stations at Hongkong and at Ningpo are fortunately selected, and its missionaries are men of large experience and of tried wisdom. Its character partakes of the grandeur of the field which it occupies, and its prospects, dim and shadowy as they now appear, open far into the vistas of that eventful future which is manifestly in reserve for China.



MISSION IN ASSAM.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE Country of Assam and its Inhabitants. — Reasons for establishing a Mission there. — Messrs. Brown and Cutter go from Burmah to Assam. — They settle at Sadiya. — Arrival of Messrs. Bronson and Thomas. — Death of Mr. Thomas. — Labors of the Missionaries. — Mr. Bronson removes to Jaipur. — Coöperation of British Residents. — Insurrection of the Khamtis. — Mr. Bronson settles among the Nagas. — Arrival of other Missionaries. — Station at Sibsagar. — Station at Nowgong. — Generous aid of British Officers. — Translation of the Gospels. — Mr. Barker at Gowahatti. — Growth of the Mission at the several Stations. — Schools. — Conversions to Christianity. — Need of Reinforcement. — Appointment of new Missionaries. — Present Prospects of the Mission.

THE country of Assam lies on the northwestern frontier of Burmah, and from that frontier stretches across the plains of the Brahmaputra, from seventy to one hundred miles in breadth, towards the mountains of Himmaleh; while on the northeast it extends to the borders of China. Its inhabitants are of many different races, but are known by the general name of Shyans or Shans — a term which, in the changes of Indian language, has given rise to the English name Assam. The country was formerly independent, but in 1822 it was added to the Burman empire, and since 1826 has been wholly under English rule. The tribes which occupy it differ widely in character and degrees of civilization, and are known under various names, — the Assamese, the Khamtis, the Singphos, and the Nagas, being the most numerous and important.

The attention of the Board was first directed to these people through the agency of Captain Francis Jenkins, commissioner of the governor-general of India for Assam, who resided at Gowahatti. This gentleman, distinguished alike as a philan-

thropist and a ruler, conceived the liveliest interest in the singular population whom he was appointed to govern, and in 1834 addressed a letter to Rev. W. H. Pearce, an English Baptist missionary, and Mr. E. C. Trevelyan, an officer of the civil service at Calcutta, making known their character and condition, and requesting them to invite some of the missionaries of the American Baptists to come and settle in the country. The invitation was sent to the members of the mission at Maulmain, and by them it was conditionally accepted and immediately commended to the favorable consideration of the Board, by whom the question of its acceptance could alone be decided. It was accompanied by an offer on the part of Captain Jenkins to contribute a thousand rupees in aid of the mission on the arrival of the first missionary, and a thousand more on the establishment of a printing press. The proposal reached the managers in 1835, a few months after the meeting of the Convention at Richmond, at a period when they had been specially directed by that body to enter every unoccupied field that should be presented, and to extend their missionary operations as widely as possible. They were therefore already prepared favorably to entertain an invitation to enter a new district, which thus emanated from a source fitted, on every account, to command their confidence and respect.

The plan of establishing a mission in Assam was also recommended by other important considerations. The language of the Shyans was similar to the Burman, and might easily be acquired by a missionary who had resided in that empire, while the characters used in printing were essentially the same. The plan seemed also likely to promote a nearer access to the Chinese than had hitherto been attained, under the exclusive policy at that time pursued by the imperial government. It was hoped that beneath the protection afforded by the East India Company, missionaries might join the caravans that yearly traded to the interior of China, and thus, while the jealous mandarins were excluding foreigners from the ports, they might plant Christianity in the heart of the empire. In this manner

It was expected that a chain of missionary posts might be established among kindred races, commencing in Siam and stretching through the Tenasserim provinces and the Burman empire into Assam,—and thus circling the western frontiers of China with influences and agencies that must sooner or later penetrate its hitherto impassable barriers.

In these circumstances, the managers determined to accept the proposal of Captain Jenkins, and immediately referred the matter to the missionaries at Maulmain for the arrangement of the details and the execution of the plan. By them Messrs. Brown and Cutter, who had then just been obliged to abandon the station at Rangoon, had already been appointed to commence the mission at Sadiya,—the place which was recommended as the most eligible for the purpose. These gentlemen were deemed eminently qualified for the undertaking, Mr. Brown having for two years been engaged in the study of the Burman language, and Mr. Cutter having had considerable experience in eastern printing. They reached Calcutta with their families in September, 1835, where they provided themselves with a printing press, a standing press, a hundred reams of paper and other materials for printing,—receiving at the same time the assurance from the Board that an additional press and a complete apparatus should soon be sent them from this country. At Calcutta they embarked in boats on the Brahmaputra, and after a tedious passage of four months through the windings of this far-rolling river, they reached Sadiya, the place of their destination, on the 28d of March, 1836. They were welcomed to the country by Captain Jenkins, who immediately fulfilled his promise to the mission, and has since repeatedly proved himself its liberal benefactor and active friend.

Sadiya is the name applied both to the district and its principal village. They are situated in the northeastern portion of Assam, four hundred miles north of Ava, and about half that distance from Yunnan, a large mart of trade within the boundaries of China. The town was found by the missionaries to be “beautifully situated in the centre of a spacious plain, sur-

rounded by mountains which form an amphitheatre and bound the horizon on all sides, except for a short distance at the southwest." The people among whom they originally designed to establish the mission were the Khamtis, who had been represented as the most interesting portion of the population, and as decidedly superior to the Burmans in intelligence and character. They found, however, that the great body of these people dwelt farther east, and they accordingly commenced their labors among the Assamese and other native tribes composing the heterogeneous population of Sadiya. So soon as a suitable building could be erected, the ladies of the mission established schools—Mrs. Brown for boys and Mrs. Cutter for girls—both of which soon became well attended and flourishing. Meanwhile Mr. Brown and Mr. Cutter were exploring the field, arranging their future labors, and giving their attention to the study of the language, in the reduction and printing of which they decided to adopt the Roman character instead of the Burman, or any other of the oriental alphabets,—a decision which was subsequently approved by the Board, and has uniformly been found advantageous in the instruction of the people. Mr. Cutter soon printed a spelling book for the use of the schools, and Mr. Brown began to prepare works for the press both in Assamese and in the Shyan.

On the 17th of October, 1836, Rev. Miles Bronson and Rev. Jacob Thomas, with their wives, sailed from Boston for Calcutta, having been appointed missionaries for the people of Assam. They took with them the additional printing press which had been promised, together with a full supply of all the requisite materials for printing, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at Calcutta on the 11th of the following April. In a few days, they again started in a budgerow, on their long and circuitous passage up the Brahmaputra for Sadiya. The passage was begun under the most favorable auspices, and was prosecuted against the rapid current of the winding river week after week, till it was nearly accomplished, when it was interrupted by a most afflictive event, and at length closed amidst circumstances

of the deepest sorrow and mourning. Within a few days' journey of Sadiya, Mr. Bronson became dangerously ill of the jungle fever, and as it was impossible to hasten the budgerow forward in consequence of the sickness of the crew and the rapidity of the current, Mr. Thomas started in a small boat in advance of his companions, in order to procure medical assistance. Using the utmost expedition he had come within sight of the mission premises at Sadiya, when two trees whose roots were united fell from the loosened bank of the river directly upon the boat in which he was seated, crushing the boat, and causing Mr. Thomas immediately to sink and drown. An event so sudden and calamitous might well chasten the hopes of the surviving missionaries, and impart to all their plans and labors a graver and more serious energy. The remains of Mr. Thomas were taken to Sadiya and interred in the mission premises, and a few days afterwards, on the 17th of July, his afflicted widow and companions in travel were welcomed by the mission families to the place of their destination.

The labors of missionaries in founding their stations and commencing their system of measures for the conversion of a heathen people, are substantially the same in every land. The opening of schools, the operations of the press, conversations at the *zayat* and other places of public resort, together with frequent excursions into the country around them, must always be made the principal agencies on which they rely for the promulgation of the gospel. Their object is to invite the attention of the people to the claims of a new religion, and hence they make use of every occasion which presents itself, to contrast its most impressive and striking doctrines with the empty mummeries of heathenism. Such were also the methods now adopted by the members of the mission at Sadiya. The labors of Mr. Brown were devoted principally to the Assamese and the *Khamtis*; those of Mr. Bronson were designed originally for the *Singphos*; while Mr. Cutter was constantly employed at the two presses now at the station, and in superintending the schools which were under the immediate charge of the ladies of the mission.

In establishing the mission in Assam, the Board had been governed in no small degree by the expectation that they should thus open an avenue by which the gospel might be more effectually carried to the northern parts of Burmah and Siam, and also introduced into the upper provinces of China. Their instructions to the missionaries all contemplated this result as the ultimate object of the undertaking, whatever subsidiary ends might be accomplished by the way. It was in accordance with this general idea that Mr. Kincaid attempted the journey from Ava to Sadiya in the early part of 1837. As has been already narrated, he penetrated the country as far as Mogaung, where he met multitudes of Kakhyens, an interesting and susceptible people, whom he conjectured to be the same as the Karens, and also the same as those called Singphos by the English in Assam.* He failed however of reaching Sadiya, and from Mogaung returned to Ava, amidst the imminent perils incident to a wide spread insurrection. For the same general object the missionaries at Sadiya made several excursions eastward, through the districts known as the Shyan provinces, and proceeded almost to the confines of China. The result of these excursions, however, usually satisfied them that, even without entering China, there were more races of heathen already accessible than it was possible for them to instruct in the doctrines of the gospel; but the favorite plan was not wholly abandoned by the Board till the barriers of the celestial empire were broken down by the arms of England, and its ports were opened to the missionaries of every land.

In May, 1838, Mr. Bronson and his family removed to Jai-pur, one of the principal posts of the East India Company in Assam, situated on the Dihing river, at a distance of three or four days' journey in a southwesterly direction from Sadiya. His object in removing was to be nearer the settlements of the

* Many questions have been raised concerning the Singphos and other races in the Shyan provinces, which are still unsettled. Too little is thus far known of these various tribes to enable us to judge confidently of their identity with other races in the East.

Singphos, the people to whom he had been specially designated. The measure was strongly urged by the other missionaries, and also by Mr. Bruce, a warm friend of the mission, who resided at Jaipur as the agent for promoting the culture of the tea plant in the country, — then just becoming the favorite enterprise of the East India Company. The station was also recommended by its proximity to the Nagas, a people dwelling among the neighboring hills, who had excited the interest of the British residents, and had been visited by the missionaries. Mr. Bronson and his family were cordially welcomed at Jaipur by Mr. Bruce and the other English residents, and by the former gentleman they were received into his house and provided with many comforts, until arrangements could be made for their settlement. The officers who were living there contributed liberally to aid the infant station, and several of the ladies of their families joined with the missionaries in opening schools and in teaching the rude heathen children who came for instruction. At about the same period Captain Jenkins, who was the originator of the mission and had ever been the faithful guardian of all its interests, also contributed five hundred rupees for replenishing the fonts of type, and also offered five hundred more towards the support of a superintendent of the schools whenever one should be appointed by the Board. Indeed so warm and generous was the interest felt by this gentleman in the prosperity of the mission, that he made frequent communications directly to the Board, setting forth its condition and wants, and recommending the measures he deemed important for its growth, and coupling with his suggestions the most liberal offers of aid in carrying them into execution.

The operations of the mission at each of its stations were quietly and regularly advancing, when they were suddenly interrupted by an insurrection of the Khamtis, which threatened the lives of the missionaries and for a time put an end to their labors. The East India Company had been gradually extending their sway over the country, until several of the more powerful tribes combined in an attempt to regain the independence which they had lost. The insurrection commenced

with an attack upon Sadiya on the 28th of January, 1833, and extended through several of the neighboring villages. A large number of the soldiers and adherents of the English were slain in the fierceness of the first assault, and quiet was not restored till the natives had been made severely to feel the pressure of English power. The missionaries at Sadiya fled to the cantonments of the troops, where they were protected by the English officers till the insurrection was quelled, when they removed to Jaipur. At the time of the outbreak Mr. Branson was absent on a tour among the Nagas, concerning whom he was making many interesting observations preparatory to the establishment of a station for their benefit. On hearing of the revolt he hastened back, amidst many perils, to his family at Jaipur, where he found the schools broken up and the whole population distracted with alarms and rumors of approaching war.

At Sadiya the people continued in still greater agitation. Many of them were leaving the town, and those who remained were in so disturbed a condition that it was deemed best immediately to remove the entire mission to Jaipur. The expenses of the removal were generously defrayed by Mr. Bruce, and the new station promised many advantages which had never been attained at the old; yet many months elapsed before the labors of the missionaries were fully resumed, or the mission entirely recovered from the shock it had sustained. In a few months the military and civil officers followed the missionaries to Jaipur, and Sadiya, deserted by its inhabitants, "was abandoned to the tigers and jackals." The missionaries, however, in the interruption of their ordinary labors, devoted their attention the more earnestly to the acquisition of the several languages spoken by the people around them, and to the preparation of books for the press. Mr. Brown soon completed the translation of the Gospel of Matthew, in Assamese and in Khamti, and Mr. Cutter, having been to Calcutta for a supply of additional type, returned in April, 1839, and commenced printing the books which had been prepared.

In January, 1840, Mr. Bronson made a second visit to the Nagas, who dwelt among the neighboring hills, and finding them now in a quiet condition and eager for instruction, he determined at once to establish among them the mission which had long been contemplated. He was encouraged in the undertaking by the generous interest expressed in these people by the English officers and residents, of whom Mr. Bruce contributed five hundred rupees and Captain Hannay two hundred and fifty for the establishment of schools. Mr. Bronson moved his family to the hills in March, and having already acquired the language and being furnished with books, he immediately commenced his labors among the people there.

On the 14th of May the mission, which was now extended to several different tribes in Assam, was gladdened by the arrival of Rev. Cyrus Barker and his wife, and Miss Rhoda Bronson, sister of Rev. Mr. Bronson, who had sailed from the United States in the preceding October. These missionaries were originally designated to the department among the Nagas, but on their arrival at Jaipur, Mr. Barker, finding that Mr. Bronson had already removed to the hills, made preparations to engage in labors for the Assamese. Miss Bronson, however, soon joined her brother at the new station which he had commenced among the Nagas.

The year following the arrival of the new missionaries was marked by many changes not unmingled with afflictions. Mr. and Mrs. Brown were obliged to leave the mission and make a passage to Calcutta for the benefit of their health. Mr. Bronson had been settled among the Nagas but a few months when he and several of his family were afflicted with severe illness, and obliged in consequence to abandon the station and remove to Jaipur. But even here health did not return to all; the constitution of Miss Bronson, though originally strong, yielded to the fever which she took among the hills, and she died at Jaipur on the 8th of December, 1840, ere she had scarcely begun her work as a missionary. Mr. Barker resided for a time at Jaipur, engaged in studying the language of the As-

samese, and making frequent excursions into the country for the purpose of selecting a place for his future residence. He at length determined on Sibsagar, a flourishing post of the East India Company, on a branch of the Brahmaputra, three days' journey below Jaipur. With the approbation of his brethren, he removed to this place with his family in May, 1841, and in the following July he was joined by Mr. and Mrs. Brown. The expectations which were entertained concerning Jaipur had not been fully realized. The population had diminished, and the efforts of the East India Company to promote the culture of tea had been partly withdrawn and bestowed on other places. In addition to this, the station had proved less healthy than was expected, and the missionaries accordingly determined, without wholly abandoning Jaipur, to make Sibsagar the principal seat of the mission. The tea culture here promised to be a permanent interest, and with a population of eight thousand, with a salubrious climate and many advantages derived from the residence of the English, the place commended itself to their judgment as the most suitable which could be selected, especially for labors among the Assamese.

Mr. Bronson, on the recovery of his health, deeming it no longer wise to return to the station among the hills, removed, in October, 1841, to Nowgong, a flourishing town in the midst of a populous district in Central Assam, to which he had been specially invited by Capt. J. T. Gordon, an English officer who had long been a friend and benefactor of the mission. The population of the town and the district was made up of many different races, among whom the Nagas were quite numerous. But now that the station among these people had been suspended, and both the Singphos and Khamtis were still comparatively inaccessible, the missionaries at all the stations were obliged in a great degree to restrict their labors to the Assamese population. With the aid of Captain Gordon, Mrs. Bronson soon opened a large mission-school at Nowgong, in which two native Christians from Calcutta were employed as assistants,

and which has continued to flourish now for many years, and has proved a means of great good to its pupils.

Yet amidst all these changes, some of them of the most afflictive character, the blessing of Heaven was not withheld from the operations of the mission. A large amount of labor was accomplished by the missionaries, and at Sibsagar two converts early embraced Christianity and were baptized. Each of the stations also continued still to receive the generous benefactions of the pious and philanthropic officers and residents attached to the civil and the military service of the East India Company. Among these, Major Jenkins — for this is now his rank — has not only fulfilled his early promises to the mission, but has also presented to it a large printing press, and has annually contributed five hundred rupees for its support. Others have rendered aid scarcely less valuable and important, by contributions of money, by attentions to the comfort of the missionaries, and by the erection of commodious dwellings and other buildings for their accommodation. It may indeed be questioned whether, in any other of our missions, so liberal contributions have been made and so uniform and generous interest has been manifested by the English residents of the country. These gentlemen are the representatives of the power that has subjugated the countries of the East; but by the humane and generous policy which they and many of their associates have adopted, both here and in Burmah, they have smoothed the horrid front of war and disarmed conquest of its terrors, — while, by their efforts in behalf of Christian missions among the people, they have more than compensated them for the loss of their former independence.

Mr. Cutter still continued at Jaipur superintending the operations of the presses under his charge. Though these operations were somewhat restricted by the absence of the other missionaries, they were yet by no means unimportant. School books in different languages were supplied to all the numerous schools, and the Gospels of Matthew and John together with the Acts of the Apostles, all which had been translated by Mr. Brown, were carried through the press early in the summer of 1842. The

station at Jaipur, however, had now become inconvenient as a place for printing, besides being too much exposed to the irruptions of the still agitated Singphos and Khamtis of the district. In the winter of 1842-3 the place was attacked by parties of insurgents, and it was several weeks before they were entirely subdued. During this time Mr. Cutter was obliged to take down the presses and hide them away with all the types belonging to the establishment, in order to secure them from the perils with which they were threatened. The presses, however, were soon set up, and their operations were resumed, but their exposed condition rendered it necessary to fix on some other station at which to place the printing establishment of the mission. After a full consultation of the missionaries and an interchange of views with the Board, it was determined that the presses should be removed to Sibsagar, and the removal was accomplished in November, 1843. In anticipation of the settlement of Mr. Cutter at Sibsagar, Mr. Barker, with the advice of his associates, went forth to seek a suitable place in Central Assam for the location of another branch of the mission. He went first to Tezpur, but after a few weeks removed to Gowahatti, the residence of Major Jenkins, and the most important town in the province, and here commenced a new station to take the place of Jaipur, which was now abandoned.

By the close of the year 1843 the missionaries were fully established at their respective stations of Sibsagar, Nowgong and Gowahatti, at which they have since continued to prosecute their labors with comparatively few interruptions. These labors have consisted principally of preaching, translating and teaching, and have been chiefly confined to the Assamese population instead of embracing the Khamtis, the Singphos and the Nagas, as was originally designed. At each of the stations a church was soon constituted, and though during the early years of the mission but few were converted to Christianity, yet these infant churches were gradually strengthened by an occasional accession. Scattered among the Assamese population especially in the district of Gowahatti, are multitudes of Brah-

mins, whose fanatical devotion to their own superstition has often occasioned violent opposition to the mission. It has also occasionally encountered the more subtle and secret hostility of a few English missionaries who are scattered throughout the province, preaching the dogmas of the "Tractarian" party of the English church. The commissioner, however, and many of the principal officers connected with the service have continued to give to it their hearty and most efficient support, and every year of its progress has opened with brighter prospects and been crowned with more encouraging results.

Connected with each of the stations are one or more mission schools, in which children and youth are specially instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. In addition to these, schools have been opened in the neighboring towns and villages, which are instructed in part by the ladies of the mission, aided by English ladies residing there, and in part by native assistants either belonging to the country or obtained from Calcutta. These schools have become very numerous, and contain in all scarcely less than a thousand pupils.

But the school to which the missionaries have attached the highest importance, and which has thus far been most productive of spiritual results, is the Orphan Institution at Nowgong. Its design was to gather from all parts of the province, destitute children bereft of their parents, and train them, under Christian influences, to a knowledge of useful occupations and of the gospel. The institution was projected by Mr. Bronson, with the advice of the other members of the mission, and was established by the contributions of the English residents in Assam. Upwards of twelve hundred rupees were contributed at the outset for the erection of a suitable building, and the institution went into operation in the beginning of 1844. During the first year of its existence it contained twelve pupils, and the number has since been increased to upwards of fifty. The amount required for its support has increased from year to year, as its wants have been multiplied; yet such has been the generosity of its friends, that its expenses until of late have been defrayed without cost to the mission.

Mr. Brown has been steadily advancing in the translation of the Scriptures, leaving to the other missionaries the work of preparing tracts and books to be used in the schools. The whole of the New Testament has been translated, and an edition of it printed by Mr. Cutter. The translator is now engaged in revising and perfecting his work, and expects immediately to enter upon the task of rendering the other parts of the Bible into Assamese. At Sibsagar Messrs. Brown and Cutter have also commenced a monthly journal of a religious and miscellaneous character, which is called *Orunodoi*, or "Rising Dawn." The first number was published in January, 1846, and since that period it has attained a wide circulation among the native population, and has been found in many respects to be more efficient than ordinary tracts in breaking down their prejudices and enlightening their ignorance.

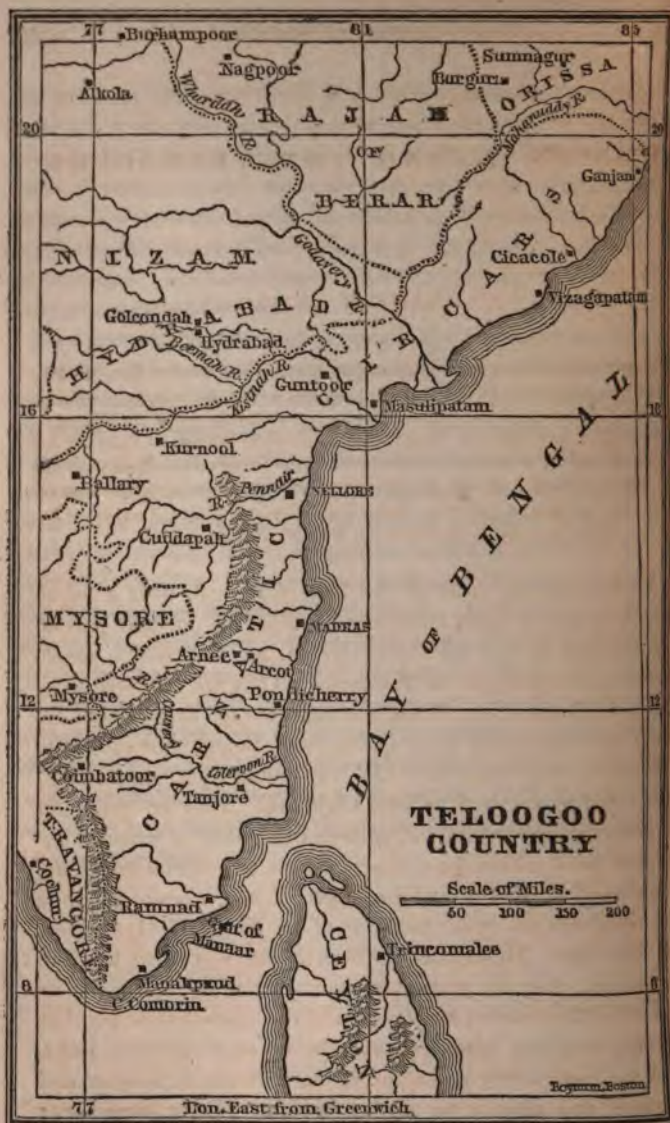
But amidst all the favorable influences which from the beginning had attended the mission, and all the labors which had been performed for its advancement, but few converts were made to Christianity during the early years of its history. The missionaries at their respective stations baptized only here and there a solitary wanderer from heathenism, who had embraced the new religion with a living faith in its truths. At length in 1846, after nearly ten years of toil and of hope had passed away, a brighter day dawned upon the mission. The elder pupils of the Orphan Institution at Nowgong, who had experienced most of the humane charity which the gospel enjoins, were also among the first to experience its life-giving power. Seven of them were baptized during the year, and with them others at the same station; and from this period each of the three churches connected with the mission has received frequent accessions, until they now together number upwards of sixty disciples of the Saviour, who have been reclaimed from the superstition in which they were educated, and trained to the worship and service of God. The church at Gowahatti, which was not organized till 1845, at the end of two years contained twenty-seven members.

It is an unvarying law of the missionary enterprise that every successful result imposes the necessity of additional effort. Not to advance is always to recede. The plans of one year, if faithfully executed, only lead to larger plans for the years that follow. The station which a single missionary may commence, will soon require the labors of several in order fully to maintain and carry it forward. The law finds ample illustrations in the history of every mission that is earnestly prosecuted, and in the history of none are they more numerous than of that among the people of Assam. Its members soon found that the field which lay around them was far too extensive to be cultivated by the few scattered individuals who had entered it, and that the work which they had undertaken was constantly outgrowing their own ability to perform it. We accordingly find them, at the period of the earliest prosperity of the mission, addressing to the managers earnest appeals for additional laborers, and often filled with sorrow and dismay because they could not be sent in the numbers which their own success had rendered necessary. But amidst the multiplied cares and labors thus devolving on the members of the mission, the health of nearly every one became sensibly enfeebled. Mr. and Mrs. Cutter were obliged for a time to leave their station, and Mrs. Brown, after being accompanied to Calcutta by her husband, took passage with her children for the United States, and arrived in February, 1847. So disheartening did their condition become in consequence of the excessive labors imposed by the exigencies of the mission, that in 1845 several of the English officers, who were witnesses of their failing health, expressed to the managers their strong convictions of the necessity of reinforcing the mission. These appeals, however, like those which had preceded them, found the Board embarrassed by a debt which every year was increasing, and perplexed by the sectional differences which led to the formation of the Missionary Union.

But they were not forgotten or lightly considered. So soon as the embarrassments had passed away the Executive Committee of the Union gave their earliest attention to the wants of

the mission. The arrival of Mrs. Brown, and the representations which she gave, made these wants more sensibly felt, and early in 1847, two missionaries, Rev. A. H. Danforth and Rev. Ira J. Stoddard, offered their services, and were appointed to Assam,—the former to join the station at Gowahatti, the latter to relieve Mr. Bronson in the charge of the Orphan Institution at Nowgong. In November of that year these gentlemen and their wives sailed for Calcutta.

The present condition and prospects of this mission are fitted to awaken the most animated hopes in the minds of its friends and supporters. It still continues to receive the liberal aid of the officers and gentlemen attached to the English service in Assam,—a fact which of itself is no slight testimonial to its usefulness. Its schools are highly valued by the people, who desire their establishment in far greater numbers than can at present be accomplished. In addition to this it is already evident that Christian influences are beginning to loosen the hold which Brahminism has had on their minds. Its dogmas are less generally believed than formerly, and many even of the priests openly confess the superiority of the gospel. With the auspicious beginning which has been made, and with the incidental advantages derived from the favor of the English residents, the mission, in its increased strength and numbers, now promises to confer invaluable blessings upon the people of Assam, and to contribute in no unimportant degree to the ultimate triumph of the Christian faith.



MISSION AMONG THE TELOOGOOS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COUNTRY of the Telooogoos. — Origin of the Mission. — Arrival of Rev. Mr. Day at Vizagapatam. — His settlement at Madras. — Visit to Bellary. — Difficulties Encountered by a solitary Missionary. — His Removal to Nellore. — Arrival of Rev. Mr. Van Husen. — Mr. Day visits Madras. — Caste among the Telooogoos. — Need of a Translation of the Scriptures. — Growth of the Mission. — Health of the Missionaries fails. — They leave Nellore and return to the United States. — State of the Mission in their Absence. — Return of Mr. Day and Appointment of Rev. Mr. Jewett in 1848.

ON the western coast of the Bay of Bengal, over a region stretching nearly eight hundred miles from the northern part of the Carnatic to the borders of Orissa, are scattered a people known as the Telingas, or Telooogoos. They are supposed to be the descendants of one of the ancient races of India whose dynasty once ruled over many nations, and, though now subject to different jurisdictions, they are still united by a common language and by common national traditions. They are generally estimated at upwards of ten millions in number, of whom three millions dwell within the northern circars or collectorates of the Presidency of Madras and are subject to its government, while the remainder are under the sway of the Nizam of Hyderabad, or Golcondah. Though distinct from the races by whom they are surrounded, they are without a country ruled by their power or known by their name; and far beyond the limits of their peculiar territory they are scattered over the whole of southern India, and are particularly numerous in the districts of Tanjore and Mysore, and also in the city of Madras. Their largest city is Masulapatam, which has a population of 80,000. Their other leading cities are Nellore, Guntoor, Vizagapatam, and Cica

cole, Burhampore, and Ganjam, which contain from 12,000 to 20,000 inhabitants each. The religion of the Teloogos is Brahminism, and, as in the other tribes of Hindostan, the system of caste prevails among them, dividing them into different classes between which it establishes impassable barriers. Every separate trade or occupation is a caste by itself, and the members of each, with their families and relatives, are prevented by the system from ever becoming connected and even from associating with those belonging to another.

The attention of our Missionary Board was directed to these people by Rev. Amos Sutton, of the mission of the English General Baptists in Orissa, during his visit to the United States in 1835. They had long before attracted the notice of the London Missionary Society, who in 1805 stationed its earliest missionaries in India among the Teloogos at Vizagapatam. These missionaries soon died, and, though others were sent to succeed them, the station had often been vacant, and at the time of Mr. Sutton's visit to America there was but a single missionary in all the region inhabited by the Teloogos. Though this district was widely separated from the other missions of the Board, yet its proximity to the Tamil missions of the American Board on the south, and to those of the English General Baptists on the north, combined with its then unoccupied condition in rendering it a most desirable field for Christian effort, and in awakening a strong disposition to make it the seat of a new mission. Much also had already been done by the missionaries of other societies; a grammar and a dictionary had been prepared for the special purpose of aiding the English in acquiring the language, and the members of the Baptist Mission at Serampore had made a translation of the entire Bible, of which the New Testament and several books of the Old had already been printed.* The

* Two translations had been made of the New Testament, — one by the missionaries at Serampore, the other by a missionary of the London Society. Both these had been printed, — the former at Serampore, the latter at Madras. The Pentateuch and some other parts of the Old Testament had also been printed at different periods by the Madras Bible Society.

Teloogoos, too, were said to be among the most interesting and intelligent of the peoples of India, possessing a language of unusual copiousness and variety, and evincing tastes and capacities which, it was thought, would give them peculiar aptitude for appreciating spiritual truth and Christian civilization. These considerations, united with the special instructions of the Convention then recently adopted at its meeting in Richmond, directing them to establish new missions in every unoccupied field where there was a reasonable prospect of success, decided the Board to comply with the recommendations of Rev. Mr. Sutton, and to establish a mission among the Teloogoos.

It was on the 20th of September, 1835, that Rev. Samuel S. Day and his wife, and Rev. E. L. Abbott, received their public instructions as missionaries to these people; and two days afterwards they sailed from Boston in the ship *Louvre*, bound to Calcutta, in company with Rev. Mr. Malcom and a large number of missionaries designated to the East, among whom was also Rev. Mr. Sutton of Orissa. On their arrival at Calcutta in February, 1836, it was deemed best that Mr. Abbott should become connected with the mission among the Karens, which was then suffering for the want of additional laborers. He accordingly proceeded to the Burman empire, while Mr. and Mrs. Day immediately repaired to Vizagapatam, where they commenced the study of the language under the instruction of a learned Brahmin, and with the aids of an English and Teloogoo dictionary, a grammar, a translation of the New Testament, and other books which had been prepared by the missionaries who preceded them.

Mr. Day found here two missionaries of the London Society, Rev. Messrs. Porter and Gordon, the latter of whom was stationed at Cuddapah. These were the only stations of this Society among the Teloogoos, and as the missionaries assured Mr. Day that no others were likely to be established, he deemed it specially important to select a site for his own mission in some unoccupied portion of the Teloogoo country. In August, 1836, he went with his family to Cicacole, where he commenced his

labors as a missionary. He here established a school which was at first attended by thirty or forty scholars, who, it was soon evident, came to be instructed with the hope of receiving some trifling reward; for when they found that the sum which they expected was not paid they were seen no more at the school. In a little time however, as the aims of the missionary became better understood, the school was filled with thirty-six boys who attended regularly, and were pledged to remain in it at least six months. In December another school was begun, composed of boys of the lowest condition in life, who had awakened the compassion of the missionary on account of their extreme ignorance and stupidity. While at Cicacole Mr. Day was solicited to go and reside at Arnee, where was then quartered the regiment containing soldiers who had been baptized at Maulmain; but he had arranged with Mr. Malcom to delay fixing upon a place of permanent settlement until they should have an opportunity to consult together upon the subject. In January, 1837, in company with Rev. Mr. Gordon of Vizagapatam, he went on an excursion one hundred and twenty miles into the interior, as far as Burhampore, in the course of which he visited forty towns and villages and enlarged his acquaintance with the character and superstitions of the people. Many of these places were thought to present inviting fields for missionary labor, though in several of them a missionary or even a Christian had never been seen before.

In the following March Mr. Day went to Madras in order to meet Rev. Mr. Malcom, who had now returned from his visit to Farther India; and after a full consideration of the respective advantages of the several places which had been visited, Madras was fixed upon as the seat of the mission. Though it was already the residence of several missionaries of different Societies, yet none of them were engaged in labor for the Teloogoos who constituted, as was estimated, at least one sixth part of the population of the city and the villages in its suburbs. In one of these villages, Wonarapetta, where was a large Teloogoopopulation, he took up his residence, and with the aid of Mrs.

Day and of Christian Poorooshothum, a native preacher from **Burhampore**, he established three schools, containing in all about seventy scholars. He preached in English to the British residents of Madras, and the assistant maintained public worship in the native language. He also distributed copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts so far as was in his power, among the higher and middle classes, a large portion of whom, especially of the males, were able to read.

In March and April of the following year he visited Bellary, a small town in the North, which contained a branch of the **Manlmain** English church, composed of soldiers belonging to the regiment stationed there. During his visit he baptized twenty-two persons in the presence of an assembly of three thousand natives, drawn together to witness the unwonted spectacle of a Christian baptism. On his return to Madras a church of sixteen members — English, Eurasian, Hindoo, and Burman — was organized in that city, and the little company at Bellary were now constituted a branch of the new church, and recognized as a part of the charge of the solitary missionary. To this church he continued to preach in English, which was understood by all its members and by thousands of the native population of the city; and so strong was the desire to learn it that schools would not be long attended by pupils of the higher classes of the people, unless the English language were among the subjects of instruction.

So numerous, however, are the cares and so various the labors which pertain to a mission planted in a heathen land, that a single missionary always works at great disadvantage. The field lies all unoccupied around him, and in whatever direction he turns, his eye rests upon nought but the wide waste of heathenism. He has none to counsel him, none to share his labors; and if he pursues with appropriate zeal any particular interest which has called forth his efforts, he must leave all others uncared-for. If he remains in the city, the people of the country may not hear the gospel; if he travels from village to village, the schools he has planted and the advantages he has

gained in the city become scattered and lost. Every page of missionary history illustrates the wisdom of our Lord's example in sending forth his disciples, two and two, to preach to distant villages the doctrines he had taught them. Mr. Day had been in Madras but a few months when he began to experience the disadvantages of his solitary condition. The infant mission was already spreading its branches in many directions, and requiring more care and labor than it was possible for one person, however active, to bestow. He frequently appealed to the Board for help, but the limited resources with which they were supplied allowed them to make no addition to the station. A press was also needed; for though the presses of the other missions in that city were furnished with Teloogoo type they were usually employed in other kinds of printing, and Mr. Day was, in consequence, often unsupplied with the tracts and books which he required in his daily intercourse with the people.

In these circumstances, often embarrassed and almost disheartened, he saw the first four years of his labors pass away. Several Eurasians and Tamils, as well as several English, had been baptized; and in a second visit which he made to Arnee, nine additional members of the regiment stationed there had been added to the church. But notwithstanding these encouraging indications among other races none of the Teloogos had yet embraced Christianity, and it became evident that the station at Madras, though possessing many important advantages, was still not likely to succeed among the people for whose benefit it was specially established. In the summer of 1839 Mr. Day therefore began seriously to think of removing to some more favorable situation in another part of the Teloogoo country.

It chanced that one of the native assistants, a Tamil from Tanjore, was at this time preaching at Nellore,* a large town an hundred and ten miles north of Madras, in the midst of a numer-

* It is said there are not less than two millions of Teloogos in the district of Nellore.

ous population purely of Teloogoos. To this place Mr. Day determined to remove the mission, though without entirely abandoning the station at Madras, where, in case he should be joined by another missionary, he hoped still to maintain the little church which he had planted. He reached Nellore with his family in February, 1840, and having rented of the government a suitable lot he immediately erected a large building, a part of which was to be used as a mission-house and a part as a *zayat*. He also commenced the daily reading of the Scriptures, and preaching on the Sabbath to congregations which averaged twenty-five in number. A few weeks after his arrival at Nellore, he had the pleasure of welcoming to the station Rev. Stephen Van Husen and his wife, who had sailed from the United States in October, 1839; and in the following September he baptized the first Christian convert from the Teloogoos. A church was soon afterwards constituted, and while Mr. Van Husen was learning the language he devoted himself to the distribution of tracts, to preaching in English, and also to instructing in Christian doctrines such of the assistants and others as he was able to hold communication with. He also journeyed far into the interior in company with the assistant, studying the character and superstitions of the people, attending the heathen festivals and distributing thousands of tracts and books to all who would receive them.

In the spring of 1841 Mr. Day made a visit to Madras, the first which he had been able to make since his removal to Nellore. He found the church in a condition far from satisfactory. Its members ceased to meet for religious worship, and many of them either had become connected with other churches, or, what was far more to be regretted, were living in total neglect of all Christian culture. With pain rather than with surprise at their fallen and scattered condition, he endeavored to rally them again; but so infrequent and few must be the visits which could be made to them either by Mr. Van Husen or himself, that, in the present condition of the mission, he felt obliged to abandon the hope of retaining them under its care. Several converts

were ready to be baptized, but the church was not worthy to receive them, and Mr. Day was obliged to leave them to the unfriendly influences by which they were surrounded,—rightly deciding that as he and his associate had been sent to the Teloo-gos, it was not proper for them to abandon their appointed work, even for so important a labor as that which demanded their attention among the English converts of their own denomination at Madras. The church was accordingly dissolved, though another was soon after constituted at Arcot, embracing some of the same members together with several Tamil and Teloo-goo people who were baptized at Arcot, and placed under the charge of an intelligent native assistant.

The only peculiar hinderances which the missionaries encountered arose from the system of caste, to which all classes of the people in Hindostan are enslaved. In accordance with its prohibitions the natives refused to receive the missionaries into their dwellings lest they should lose caste; yet on public festivals and at the corners of the streets they were suffered to preach without molestation, and assemblies of fifty or a hundred persons would often gather to hear them. This absurd system is as capricious as it is despotic in its requirements. It permits religious instruction to be given in schools by the missionary, and Christian catechisms to be taught by the unconverted native teacher, but *Christian* native teachers it does not tolerate. It allows children to be sent to the missionaries to be educated, but it does not allow the missionaries to visit the families to which the children belong. Schools have been established in considerable number by the agents of the East India Company, in which male children are taught English, and many of the common branches of knowledge; and at Nellore and the neighboring villages, additional schools—at one time twelve in number—were established by the missionaries, strictly for religious instruction. These schools were attended with many good results. The scholars were required to be present at religious exercises both on week days and on Sunday, and were often accompanied by their parents. In this manner an interest in

the mission and a knowledge of Christian truth were communicated to many families, and the impression was spread widely abroad that Christianity is vastly superior to Buddhism or Brahminism, and that it will at length universally prevail.

In consequence of the views entertained by the Baptist denomination respecting the mode and the subjects of Christian baptism, our missionaries have seldom been inclined to adopt the versions of the sacred Scriptures which have been made by those who preceded them in the East. In most of these versions, the words relating to this ordinance are either transferred from the original Greek, or are translated in a manner that conflicts with the settled faith and practice of our churches. The British and Foreign Bible Society early directed that all translations which might be made under its auspices should be strictly in accordance with "the authorized English version,"—thus requiring the *transfer* and forbidding the *translation* of the words relating to baptism. In March, 1841, while Mr. Day was at Madras, the Bible Society of that city adopted the same resolution. Against the extension of these words and their perpetuation in all languages, the Baptists, however, both in England and America, had very generally protested, and both the instructions of the Board and the resolutions of the Convention had directed the missionaries to translate the words according to their conscientious convictions of truth. In these circumstances, it was plain that any modification of the common version which Messrs. Day and Van Husen might make, could not be published by the Bible Society of Madras, on whose copies they had hitherto been accustomed to rely. They accordingly addressed a statement of the facts to the Board, and requested that another missionary might be sent them, together with a press which they had long needed, that they might have within their own control the means of multiplying copies of the word of God faithfully translated, in accordance with the principles of their own faith and that of their brethren in America. However much it is to be regretted that the Scriptures are circulated in heathen lands in versions essentially different from

each other, yet in the present condition of the Christian world this result seems unavoidable, and indeed had already taken place from other causes, before it was brought about by the views or the instructions of Baptist missionaries. The Board, however, were at this time too much straitened in their means to comply with the request, even had any person suitable for the post offered his services for their acceptance; and though they fully approved the principle maintained by the missionaries, they were obliged still to leave them without the aid which they required in carrying it into practice.

Meanwhile the missionaries had divided the station and established themselves in different parts of the city, for greater convenience in superintending the several schools, and also for maintaining intercourse with a greater variety of the population. In August, 1843, three additional converts were baptized and added to the church,—one of them a Telogoo and a member of the boarding school, another a Tamil who spoke Telogoo, a young man of superior education, and the third a Eurasian woman who resided in Mr. Day's family. Schools of different grades were also established, not only in the city, but in several of the adjacent villages, at the request of the inhabitants themselves; and it was plain that the population were beginning to feel the influence of the gospel and to doubt the divinity of their idols. The mission was thus increasing both in interest and efficiency when the health of its members began to fail, and many of its most useful labors were in consequence remitted.

The climate of Nellore, though exceedingly warm, is reputed to be not prejudicial to the health of Europeans; yet the missionaries were unable long to endure it. Mrs. Day, whose health first began to suffer, regained her accustomed strength after a brief absence from the station. Mr. Van Husen was obliged to remit his labors in 1843, and, after repeated though unsuccessful trials of every remedy which was prescribed, was obliged to take passage for Calcutta, and at length to return to the United States. He arrived with Mrs. Van Husen in Oc-

tober, 1845, the victim of a distressing malady from which he has not yet recovered.

The departure of these missionaries from Nellore was a serious blow to all the interests of the mission. Two schools which had been principally under their charge were immediately suspended, and a third was soon after broken up by the appearance of the cholera. The remaining duties of the station were performed by Mr. and Mrs. Day, with the aid of the assistants; but their health was no longer adequate to the task, and was now becoming feebler every month. In October, 1845, Mr. Day, who had for some time been unable to labor with his accustomed assiduity, went to Madras in order to administer baptism to several persons attached to one of the regiments there; but on reaching that city he was wholly unable to perform the service. He was received into the families of several Christian friends, and by the physicians whom he consulted was advised to lose no time in commencing a protracted voyage for the recovery of his health. His family, who were still at Nellore, were immediately sent for, and, with the generous aid of friends who compassionated their condition, were made ready for their unexpected departure for America. Mr. and Mrs. Day had then neither the time nor the means requisite for preparing for a long and perilous passage across the oceans that separated them from their native land; but every want was supplied and every comfort provided by the attentions of their friends at Madras. Christian missionaries and English officers vied with each other in aiding the afflicted mission family, as they reluctantly left the country to which they had come on their errand of philanthropy.* They embarked at Madras in December, 1845, and coming by way of England, arrived in this country in the following June.

Leaving the station at Nellore thus abruptly and unexpected-

* Mr. Day acknowledges these acts of hospitality and generosity which he and his family experienced, both at Nellore and at Madras, with special gratitude, in a communication addressed to the Executive Committee, written on his passage home and printed in the Magazine for September, 1846.

ly, it was impossible for Mr. Day to arrange very perfectly for its future continuance and guidance. The property of the mission then consisted of a dwelling house, part of which was used as a zayat, and a small estate which had been occupied by the missionary and his family, together with a school house which had been purchased for the accommodation of Mr. Van Husen's part of the station, — the whole valued at about twenty-three hundred dollars. These were all left in charge of a Eurasian preacher, who was placed at the head of the mission, and was to be assisted by two native Christians, having also under their care five schools,* each averaging twenty-five scholars. In addition there was a church of six or seven members, Tamils and Teloogoos, in whose piety the missionary had the highest confidence, and whose Christian characters have since continued without reproach amidst many temptations and evil influences. Thus deprived of its founder and principal conductor, the mission was regarded by its friends with peculiar solicitude. The Executive Committee had long felt their inability to sustain it with the energy which its exigencies obviously demanded; and now that its only remaining occupant had been obliged to leave it, they seriously entertained the thought of wholly abandoning the country of the Teloogoos and confining their missions to the regions of Farther India, where their stations seemed fortunately placed in convenient proximity to each other. So earnest, however, were the views both of Mr. Day, and of Mr. Sutton who wrote from Orissa, respecting the advantages offered by the country as a field for Christian missions, and so interesting and attractive seemed the character of the people, that the committee determined for the present at least not to advise a dissolution of the mission, but to wait for future indications of Providence to decide the policy which they should pursue.

Thus continued the station at Nellore in the hands of native assistants, who were able to do little more than maintain the

* Three Teloogoo, one Tamil and one English. The latter has since been discontinued.

schools which had been planted by the missionaries, until the meeting of the Union at Troy, in May, 1848. Meanwhile the question of continuing the mission had assumed a new aspect, from the fact that Mr. Day had recovered his health and was now ready to return to his station; and also that Rev. Lyman Jewett, who had recently offered his services as a missionary, was desirous of accompanying him to the Telooagoos. In these circumstances, the Executive Committee submitted the question to the Board in an elaborate paper prepared by the Foreign Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Mr. Peck, and containing a full view of all the considerations pertaining to it. After being fully discussed by the managers, it was by them referred to the meeting of the Union for final decision; and that body, after still further deliberation, voted to instruct the committee to reinforce the mission. In this manner has it been saved from the extinction that threatened it, and raised to a renovated, and it is hoped, a progressive life. The action which was taken by the Union upon the question of its continuance, is to be regarded as a renewed pledge to give it the support and carry it forward with the energy which shall insure its permanence and success.

The Executive Committee immediately began to carry into effect the instructions which they had received, by making arrangements to furnish with missionaries the long abandoned station at Nellore. On the 10th of October, 1848, Mr. Day,* in company with Mr. and Mrs. Jewett, who had previously been designated to the mission, sailed from Boston for Calcutta, and are now probably at the place of their destination.

Thus, under new auspices, does the humble mission to the Telooagoos again invite the sympathy and the aid of those by whose direction it has been revived, and on whom it must constantly depend for its pecuniary support. Already are its pros-

* Mrs. Day remained with her children in this country. Her husband's present appointment is for the term of five years, and should the mission prosper as is hoped, Mrs. Day will return to Nellore at an early period.

pects brightening by reason of the progress of education, and of the light which is reflected from the flourishing missions that are established by other societies among the neighboring races of India. Among many of these races there is a general preparation to receive the gospel, and an impression widely prevailing that Christianity is destined at length to supplant every other religion. This impression is undoubtedly owing in a great degree to the wide extension of British power in the East,—a power so formidable and resistless to the people of Hindostan, that they may well deem it likely to establish the language, the laws, and the religion of England over the earth. Beneath its broad protection the missionary among the Teloogoos dwells in security, and pursues his sacred work unharmed, with no peculiar obstacles to oppose him save those which arise from the superstitions and the social habits of the people. Against these he will continue to struggle on in the might which always attends a holy cause, and with full confidence that his efforts will at length be crowned with success by that gracious Spirit who ever watches over the progress of truth among men.

MISSION IN WESTERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL Character of the Mission. — Lott Carey and Collin Teage. — Rev. Calvin Holton. — Character and Death of Mr. Carey. — Rev. Benjamin Skinner. — Failure of the Mission in consequence of the Death of Missionaries. — Arrival of Messrs. Crocker and Mylne. — Station at Edina among the Bassas. — Madebli. — Character of the People. — Arrival of Rev. Ivory Clarke. — Departure of Mr. Mylne. — Progress of the Mission. — Messrs. Fielding and Constantine. — Failure of their Undertaking. — Departure of Mr. Crocker. — Progress of the Mission in his Absence. — His Return and Death. — Station at Bexley. — The Labors of Mr. Clarke: Translations: Churches: Schools: his Death. — Close of the Mission. — Attempted Mission in Hayti.

No one of the missions planted by the Managers of the General Convention has had so serious obstacles to encounter, or has been so often paralysed by their influence, as that on the western coast of Africa. Its history conducts us to a portion of the earth pervaded by a pestilential climate and perpetually ravaged by the cupidity of civilized man, — to a race degraded by the barbarism and wrongs of ages, and, by common consent, long doomed to slavery and oppression among almost every people of Christendom. No relics of a departed civilization, no scenes of storied events, attract attention to this gloomy region. No hoary superstitions blending with the rude traditions of an elder age lend a philosophic interest to the people who inhabit it. It presents only a blank and dreary waste of barbarism, occupied by the lowest and most abject forms of humanity. Yet Christian Philanthropy, to her honor be it spoken, has not passed by even this desolate land in utter neglect. She has braved the pestilence that perpetually haunts its coasts, and has encoun-

tered the ferocity of its degraded and brutalized inhabitants; and, finding arguments for her support in the very degradation of their condition and in the wrongs they have suffered, she has endeavored to communicate to them the truths of the gospel and secure for them the blessings of Christian civilization. It is true that these endeavors have been attended with the most imperfect success; and the scenes in which they were put forth are now marked by the graves of many of the heroic men who made them. Yet they well illustrate the spirit of that comprehensive philanthropy which the religion of Christ alone is able to inspire.

The mission of the American Baptists has been principally confined to that portion of the western coast of Africa known as Liberia, and has been planted only among the Bassa tribe of its inhabitants,—a numerous people occupying a strip of the coast ninety miles in length, lying between Junk river and the river Sesters, and extending back nearly seventy miles in the interior. They are supposed to be about one hundred and twenty-five thousand in number.

The earliest missionaries sent by the Board were Lott Carey and Collin Teage, two colored men, who were ordained at Richmond, Va., in January, 1821, and soon afterwards sailed for Africa as emigrants of the American Colonization Society. The Society had not at this period established a colony upon the coast, and Messrs. Carey and Teage went to Freetown, in the English colony of Sierra Leone. Their residence here however was brief, in consequence of the unfriendliness of the climate, and in February, 1822, they removed to Monrovia, a settlement which had been planted by colonists from America. Here they commenced their labors as missionaries and founded a church. Six persons were baptized during the year 1823, and in the year following nine more were added to their number, and a commodious place of worship was erected for their use. Of this church Lott Carey became the pastor, his associate in the mean time having returned to Sierra Leone. In the performance of his duties as a missionary Mr. Carey evinced



remarkable energy and faithfulness. He was born a slave in Virginia, but many years before leaving Richmond he had purchased his freedom and that of his two children, and had acquired the rudiments of a superior education, and proved himself worthy of the highest trusts in the business with which he was charged. On the pestilential shores of Africa he soon found occasion for all the knowledge he had acquired, both among his fellow emigrants and the rude barbarians from the interior with whom they became associated. By his acquaintance with medicine, he healed their maladies; by his sagacity in civil affairs, he settled their disputes and aided in the organization of their infant society; and by his earnestness and power as a preacher, he commended the gospel to their hearts and consciences with unusual success.

Early in 1825 Rev. Calvin Holton was accepted as a missionary by the Board, and sailed for the American colonies in Liberia. Almost immediately after his arrival, however, Mr. Holton was seized with the fever which in that climate usually attacks Europeans who come from other latitudes, and died in July of the same year.

The mission continued to be sustained by Mr. Carey, with the aid of two or three pious assistants from among the emigrants. The resources by which it was kept alive were supplied almost entirely by his own efforts, as the funds which were furnished by the Board were of necessity at this time exceedingly limited. The labors of the mission were bestowed upon the emigrant colonists, and also, as far as possible, upon the natives of the country who had either been rescued from slave-ships and settled upon the coast, or had voluntarily come in from the neighboring wilderness to join the colonies of their more civilized brethren. Mr. Carey in this manner preached and maintained schools at Monrovia and also at Cape Grand Mount, — at the latter place among a people known as the Weys, one of the most powerful and intelligent of the tribes on the coast. At these and other settlements he was the life and soul of nearly all the religious efforts and operations that were

carried on. He preached several times every week, superintended schools both for religious and for secular instruction,—in some of which he taught himself,—travelled from one settlement to another, and watched with constant vigilance and unremitting care over all the spiritual and the social interests of the colonists.

In September, 1826, he was unanimously elected vice-agent of the colony, and on the return of Mr. Ashmun to the United States in 1828, he was appointed to discharge the duties of governor in the interim—a task which he performed during the brief remnant of his life with wisdom, and with credit to himself. His death took place in November, 1828, in a manner that was fearfully sudden and extraordinary. The natives of the country had committed depredations upon the property of the colony, and were threatening general hostilities. Mr. Carey, in his capacity as acting governor, immediately called out the military forces of the colony, and commenced vigorous measures for repelling the assault and protecting the settlements. He was at the magazine, engaged in superintending the making of cartridges, when, by the oversetting of a lamp, a large mass of powder became ignited, and produced an explosion which resulted in the death of Mr. Carey and seven others who were engaged with him. In this sudden and awful manner perished an extraordinary man,—one who in a higher sphere might have developed many of the noblest energies of character, and who, even in the humble capacity of a missionary among his own benighted brethren, deserves a prominent place in the list of those who have shed lustre upon the African race.

At the period of Mr. Carey's death, the church of which he was pastor contained a hundred members, and was in a highly flourishing condition. It was committed to the charge of Collins Teage, who now returned from Sierra Leone, and of Mr. Waring, one of its members, who had lately been ordained a minister. The influences which had commenced with the indefatigable founder of the mission continued to be felt long after he had ceased to live. The church at Monrovia was increased to two

hundred members, and the power of the gospel was manifested in other settlements of the Colonization Society, and even among the rude natives of the coast, of whom nearly a hundred were converted to Christianity and united with the several churches in the colony.

In 1830 Rev. Benjamin Skinner was appointed a missionary to Africa. He was ordained at Richmond, Va. on the 4th of October, and before the close of the month sailed with his family for Monrovia, where they arrived in the following December. Soon after their arrival they were all seized with the fever of the coast, and Mrs. Skinner and her two children fell victims to the disease. Mr. Skinner partially recovered from the fever, but his constitution was shattered by its ravages and by the heavy bereavements with which he was afflicted. He remained in the country till July, 1831, but without attempting any missionary labor, when he embarked for the United States in hope of being restored by the voyage. The hope, however, proved illusive, and he died at sea on the twentieth day of the passage.

Thus fatally terminated two attempts of the Board to settle white men as missionaries on the coast of Africa. Those who were sent had fallen victims to the climate almost as soon as they came within its pestilential influence. The enterprise seemed entirely hopeless, and the Board now directed their attention to the finding of suitable men of color who might be employed to carry forward the mission. Their efforts, however, proved unsuccessful, and five years elapsed before any additional missionaries were sent to Africa. The mission, however, during this interval was not abandoned, but was even somewhat extended by means of the preachers and teachers who were appointed from among the pious emigrants. The most conspicuous of these, in addition to those already mentioned, were Rev. A. W. Anderson, Rev. John Lewis, and Rev. Hilary Teage, son of Collin Teage. In the summer of 1834 Dr. Ezekiel Skinner, father of the missionary, a practising physician and a minister of the gospel from the State of Connecticut, went to reside in

Liberia. He was appointed by no society, but was prompted by motives of philanthropy and by special interest in the neglected race in whose service his son had already offered up his life. This gentleman subsequently was raised to the office of governor, and alike in his public and his private relations he exerted a favorable influence upon the mission and upon all the interests of the colony. By agencies like these the church at Monrovia, whose branches had now extended through several villages, was supplied with the regular ministry of the gospel, and many of the schools which had been established were also continued in operation.

Early in 1835 Rev. W. G. Crocker and Rev. W. Mylne offered themselves to the managers, and were appointed missionaries to Africa. So painful had been the experience of the Board in their attempts to establish this mission, that its officers could not solicit persons to go to so unhealthy a station; yet if missionaries offered their services with a full knowledge of the perils they must encounter, the Board could not of course decline to send them. These gentlemen were well educated, and in every way qualified for the work of preaching the gospel to the heathen, and on the 11th of July they sailed from Philadelphia for Monrovia, where they arrived after a prosperous passage of thirty-two days. By the instructions which they received they were appointed to labor specially among the native tribes of the country,—it being deemed that these ought to be made the more immediate subjects of Christian effort, rather than the emigrant settlements of colonization societies that lined the coast. Immediately on their arrival they repaired to Millsburg, one of the towns of the Monrovia settlement, in order to go through with the perilous process of acclimation. Here they were soon prostrated by the prevalent fever of the coast, and, though in the midst of missionary friends who rendered every aid in their power, Mrs. Mylne, the only lady of their company, fell a victim to the disease within a month after their arrival. Mr. Crocker and Mr. Mylne, however, survived the acclimation, and, though

in enfeebled health, were soon able to enter upon their labors as missionaries.

At the instance of Dr. Skinner, and with the approbation of the Board, they determined to establish their mission among the Bassas, a tribe whose language was widely spoken in the interior, and whose principal trading place was at Bassa Cove, at the mouth of the Mechlin river, at this time a joint settlement of the Colonization Societies of Pennsylvania and New York. These people were also numerous at Edina, a small town on the bank of the river opposite to Bassa Cove. After examining several different localities, the missionaries fixed upon Edina as the place of their future labors, and in December, 1835, they removed to Bassa Cove, in order to superintend the preparation of buildings, and if possible immediately to commence their labors on the opposite bank of the river.

On their arrival in the country the first aim of the missionaries had been to acquire the language, reduce it to an alphabet, and prepare it for writing. In doing this they were assisted by a young colonist whom they employed, and who was able to speak both Bassa and English. In February, 1836, Messrs. Crocker and Mylne made an excursion up the Mechlin river, a distance of twenty miles, to Madebli, the village of Sante Will, a chief of whom they had often heard, and whose children they desired to have at the school they were about to open at Edina. The chief told them that he was only a governor under king Bob Gray, who was then but two miles off attending the funeral of a relative. The missionaries immediately repaired to the king, who, on hearing their object formally stated, warmly commended it, and proposed to his head men that they should send their children to be instructed at the school. He afterwards, however, decided to wait till he could consult other chiefs who were away, that they might all act together; but he promised to send a dozen or twenty men to build a school house at Edina, so soon as his people should complete the work of the season upon their farms. It was afterwards discovered that this king was only tributary to a mon-

arch of greater pretensions, known as king Koba, who, when the proposal of Mr. Crocker was made known to him, replied, "I am afraid of that white man; he comes and sits down softly in my country; I don't know what he will do." His prejudices, however, were soon overcome, — for he invited the missionaries to visit him, and interpreted their sermons to his people, and when the school was opened at Edina he sent his son to join it, as did also Sante Will and king Bob Gray.

Though the mission was designed especially for the native tribes, yet, while the missionaries were acquiring the language, and becoming acquainted with the people of the country, they were engaged in constant labors among the colonists. They preached at Bassa Cove and also at Edina, and opened schools at both these places. Mr. Crocker also obtained funds from other towns of the colony to enable the church at Bassa Cove to erect a suitable house of worship, which was completed in July, 1836. Here Mr. Mylne continued to preach till the church was supplied with a pastor early in the following year, and during this period he baptized sixteen persons.

Mr. Crocker devoted himself to studying the structure of the Bassa language, and by the close of the first year of his residence in the country, he had so far mastered it that he prepared a spelling book and a small vocabulary of words and phrases, to which he added a brief statement of some of the leading facts of divine revelation. In December, 1836, he went to Monrovia, and printed an edition of two hundred copies for immediate use in the schools. Its effect upon the progress of the native scholars soon began to be obvious. Several of the more intelligent among them were speedily able both to read and to write the language of their tribe. Much delay had been occasioned in the erection of the mission buildings at Edina, by the difficulty in procuring workmen who would labor with even tolerable regularity and fidelity. A carpenter was at length obtained from Monrovia, and the houses were completed and occupied by the missionaries and their schools in June, 1837.

During all this period they had been subject to frequent attacks

of disease, which they warded off only by changing the place of their residence, — going now to other settlements upon the coast and now to the interior, in order to escape the malarious influence that constantly hung around them. They also frequently went to Madebli, the village of Sante Will, where the chief soon manifested so deep an interest in their labors that they determined to make it an out-station of the mission. A small house was accordingly erected there, to which Mr. Crocker removed in October, 1837, and immediately commenced the translation of the New Testament. Several of the chiefs from the interior also visited the schools at Edina, and expressed warm approbation at their condition; Sante Will even claimed the original patronage of the whole plan, and boasted that he was the first to encourage it by intrusting his sons to the care of the missionaries. The number of native children now under their charge was as large as they were able to provide for, and many of them, as has already been mentioned, were sons of the principal chiefs of the tribe. Among them, the most distinguished both for the talents and the moral spirit which he evinced, was Kong, the son of king Koba, the head chief of the Bassas. He early made remarkable progress in the studies of the school, and at length, with some of his less distinguished associates, gave decided evidence of Christian character.

Messrs. Crocker and Mylne had survived what were deemed the greatest perils incident to their condition upon this unhealthy coast, and had planted their stations under auspices far more favorable than any which had hitherto attended the mission. As was natural new hopes began to dawn in their minds, and new interests were awakened in their labors among their brethren at home. Yet to one who inspects the journals in which they recorded their daily experience, the prospect will appear to have been far from attractive and encouraging. It was only less gloomy and repulsive than it had hitherto been. They were indeed near the emigrant settlements of the societies for colonizing Africa with her own scattered children, yet the example of many of the colonists was any thing but favorable

to the cause of Christian civilization. They were among a people many of whom, it is true, evinced a readiness to be taught the gospel, but they belonged to the most abject and degraded portion of the human race, — so debased by barbarian passions, so stupefied by the superstitions of their brutalizing *grigri*,* that the impressions made upon their minds were usually as transitory as figures drawn upon the shifting sands of their own deserts. And to add to the melancholy picture, almost side by side with the stations of the missionaries arose the frowning front of the slave factory; and in the same circles in which they preached the gospel of peace and love, was carried on that accursed traffic which more than every other sin has blackened the annals of human guilt and shame. They however still labored on, though often disabled by sickness, and hindered by obstacles such as missionaries seldom encounter; and they even began to devise plans, and to appeal to their brethren in America, for the extension of the mission to other tribes that dwell upon the coast or that roam the interior.

In January, 1838, Rev. Ivory Clarke and his wife arrived at Edina. Like their predecessors they were immediately attacked by fever but in a form unusually mild, and they were soon able to commence the study of the language and to perform such duties in the mission as their inexperience would admit. They resided either at Edina or at one of the neighboring villages, and with better health and greater aids than had been possessed by those who preceded them, they made rapid progress in acquiring the language and preparing for their missionary labors. Their arrival gave new animation to the hopes of their associates and brightened the prospects of the mission. But it was only for a brief season, — for the health of Mr. Mylne, which had been shattered by repeated fevers, soon gave indications of hopeless failure. In May, 1838, he returned to the United States, and not long after, in consequence of his ruined health, withdrew

* *Grigri* is a species of witchcraft, or sorcery, which constitutes almost the only religion of the tribes on the coast.

from the service of the Board. The care of the station at Edina now devolved upon Mr. Clarke, — aided by two of the colonists, Messrs. Davis and Day, — the former the pastor of the emigrant church, and the latter a teacher and preacher in the employ of the mission. Mr. Crocker in the mean time resided at Madebli, or Sante Will's town, where he was engaged in preaching, teaching in the schools, and translating the Scriptures, — in the latter of which he was assisted by his pupil, Kong Koba, the son of the head chief who has already been mentioned, a youth whose talents and character fully justified the hopes which the missionaries entertained concerning him.

In September, 1839, the mission was still further strengthened by the arrival of Miss Rizpah Warren, who had been accepted by the Board as a missionary teacher, and had sailed for Edina in the preceding July. Early in the following summer she was married to Rev. W. G. Crocker, and went with him to reside at the village of Sante Will. But scarcely had they reached their secluded home ere disease and death began their frightful work, and blighted the hopes which the missionaries had fondly cherished. Mr. Crocker was first attacked, and after being brought to the very verge of the grave, at length began to mend; but ere he had regained his strength he saw his wife wholly prostrated by the fierce fever of the climate. Her sickness was fearfully brief; she died eight days after the attack, on the 28th of August, 1840. Soon after these sad events Mr. Crocker, still enfeebled by disease and depressed by sorrow, went to Cape Palmas in order to recruit his health, and to procure the printing of the Gospels of Matthew and John, and a book of hymns which he had prepared, and also another edition of the Bassa Spelling Book which was compiled by Mr. Clarke. He returned to his station at Madebli on the 13th of October, with his health improved and his spirits invigorated by the kind sympathies of the Christian friends whom he met at the settlements, and again commenced the labors of the mission in circumstances that awakened in his mind the conflicting emotions of grief and of hope.

The mission in Africa, notwithstanding the vicissitudes through which it had passed, was at this time regarded with increasing interest both by its members and their friends in this country. The memory of the wrongs which the African race had so long endured in every land combined with the urgent appeals of the missionaries in awakening among the churches of America a strong feeling of Christian obligation to send them, if possible, the blessings of the gospel. Early in 1840, Messrs. Alfred A. Constantine and Joseph Fielding offered themselves to the Board as missionaries to the western coast, or the interior of Africa. It was at a period when the impression prevailed that the climate of the interior might be found less deadly to Europeans, than that of the coast had proved itself to be. The British government also, with the coöperation of some philanthropic associations in England, were about sending an expedition up the Niger for the purpose of exploring the regions bordering upon its banks, and introducing to the tribes of the interior the arts and the commerce of Europe, to take the place of their inhuman traffic in slaves. High hopes were entertained by the friends of missions both in England and America, that this expedition might open the way for the introduction of Christianity to some of the unknown races that people this portion of the continent. In accordance with these views, the newly-appointed missionaries were designated by the managers to the country lying upon the Niger. Having received full instructions from the Board, they sailed from Philadelphia with their wives, in September, 1840, and arrived at Monrovia in November and at Edina on the 3d of December. Though their destination was to the banks of the Niger, yet it was deemed most prudent to wait at Edina until they had passed through the inevitable trials incident to the period of acclimation. They might also thus learn the results of the English expedition, which was now just preparing to ascend the river. Little did they then anticipate the melancholy issues of that expedition, or the untimely close which was appointed to their own career as missionaries.

They were seized by the African fever, with its accustomed violence, and within six weeks of their arrival both Mr. and Mrs. Fielding fell victims to its power—the latter on the 3d, and the former on the 16th of January. Mr. and Mrs. Constantine, though they survived the fever, were unable either to proceed to the place of their destination or to engage in the labors of the mission. They remained at Edina, making occasional excursions to different points of the coast or to the interior, in the hope of regaining their health, as well as for the purpose of observing the condition of the country and the character of its inhabitants. Late in the summer of 1841 the English expedition, comprising three small steamers, proceeded up the Niger. Though it was supposed that every possible precaution had been taken for the health of the Europeans engaged in the service, yet the passage up the river proved fearfully destructive. Two of the three steamers were despatched in succession to bear back those who were disabled by disease; and when, at the end of eight weeks, the remnant of the expedition returned to the coast, it had lost upwards of one eighth of the Europeans who were attached to it. It was believed that a salutary impression was made by the expedition upon the tribes of the interior, but the hopes which were entertained of finding there a more salubrious climate were utterly disappointed, and the design of establishing a mission among them was entirely abandoned. Mr. Constantine, still unable to labor continuously in the climate of the coast, returned with his wife to America in June, 1842, and soon after, at his own request, was released from his engagements with the Board.

In July, of the year preceding, Mr. Crocker, whose health had long been declining, had been obliged to return to the United States. He left the mission at a period when, to his own mind at least, it was possessed of unusual interest and attended with many encouragements. He had witnessed great changes—all of them for the better—during the six years in which he had resided on the coast. Several of his companions had fallen, but the truth which he had come to proclaim had made percep-

tible progress. The prejudices of the people among whom he had lived had been overcome, and their suspicions and jealousies had died away. Children were no longer detained from the schools, the preaching of the gospel was listened to with attention, and its power had been witnessed in the conversion of several of the natives and a large number of the emigrants. The churches connected with the mission were both multiplied and enlarged, and the interest felt among their members in spreading the gospel through the surrounding region had greatly increased. A new station was also established, under the charge of Mr. Day, at Bexley, a small town on the river, six miles from Edina. A printing press had been received by the mission, and Messrs. Crocker and Clarke were only waiting to engage a printer, in order to put to press several books of the New Testament, and other volumes which they had prepared in the Bassa language. From all these interests and occupations, which bound him strongly to the mission, Mr. Crocker was obliged to hasten away, in order to save the feeble remnant of his constitution, which had so long been wasting beneath the bad influences of that unfriendly climate.

In consequence of the absence of Mr. Crocker, after the return of Mr. and Mrs. Constantine, the care of the mission devolved entirely upon Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, who resided at Edina, and had under their direction three or four assistants, employed either as teachers or preachers. The press was set in operation in September, 1842, under the charge of a printer obtained from the colony, and several books, designed to aid in the acquisition of the language, as well as to impart religious knowledge, were immediately issued. Two schools were sustained at Edina and one at Bexley, containing together about ninety scholars, of whom fifty-five were natives. Schools were also held at both stations upon the Sabbath, and during certain seasons on several evenings of the week, for the instruction of adult emigrants in the doctrines of the Bible and in the principles of morals. The character of the population was obviously improving, and the churches at the two stations were gradually

increasing in numbers and advancing in the knowledge of the gospel. Mr. Clarke finding himself too remote from the great body of the Bassa people, recommended to the Board that the mission be removed to Tradetown; but in its then reduced state the removal could not be easily effected, and the project was abandoned. An out-station was, however, established at Dua-wi's town, a large village in the interior, thirty or forty miles from Edina. The chief invited Mr. Clarke to send a teacher for his people, and promised to build a school-house and to support both teacher and pupils. The station was commenced by a young native who had for several years been under the instruction of the missionaries.

Mr. Crocker, after his return to the United States, soon found himself so reduced by disease that he abandoned all hope of ever rejoining the mission, or engaging again in the labors to which he had dedicated his life. He at length, however, regained a portion of his strength and commenced a journey to the south. After a residence of several months in a genial climate, during which his health seemed to be fully restored, he presented himself to the Board as ready to return to his station on the perilous coast which two years before he had so reluctantly abandoned. The Board sharing his own confidence in the restoration of his health, gladly accepted his services, and having made the necessary arrangements, he sailed from Boston, January 1, 1844. He had a few days before been united in marriage with Miss Mary B. Chadbourne, of Newburyport, by whom he was now accompanied on the voyage. He arrived on the coast on the 24th of February, with health seemingly unimpaired; yet a treacherous malady lurked in his constitution, and on the second day after his arrival, while engaged in the services of the Sabbath at Monrovia, he was seized with a violent hemorrhage of the stomach, of which he died after an illness of two days. Thus fell in the midst of high raised hopes, and at an unexpected moment, a missionary of no common zeal and devotion to the cause. The joy which the tidings of his intended return had awakened on that desolate shore, among

the natives whom he had formerly instructed, was suddenly turned into mourning, and a cloud again rested upon the mission at the death of one of its earliest founders and most indefatigable laborers.*

Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, who were on their way to Monrovia to meet the newly-arrived missionaries, reached the settlement only to look upon the grave of him from whom they had hoped so much, and to escort back to their station the widowed partner of his hopes and his sympathies for the neglected sons of Africa. Mrs. Crocker, on arriving at Edina, immediately set about preparing for her work as a missionary, and was soon able to engage in the labors and duties which the enfeebled condition of the mission pressed upon her attention.

In January, 1845, the principal station of the mission was removed from Edina to Bexley, in order to secure a locality more favorable to health, and nearer the settlements of the Bassa people. A subordinate station however was still maintained at Edina, and additional out-stations were planted at Zuzo and at Little Bassa, — the latter under the immediate charge of Kong Koba, or Lewis Kong Crocker, as the young chief now chose to be named, in honor of his early teacher and friend. At these several points, but little separated from each other, the mission, though often smitten and cast down, still maintained its existence and assiduously prosecuted its sacred objects among the people of the country. The assistants, most of whom were men of tried character, under the direction or in the company of the missionary, preached the gospel from village to village. The ladies of the mission were engaged in the schools, while Mr. Clarke gave himself as fully as possible to the work of translating the Scriptures, and the preparation of books for the instruction of the natives. He compiled a dictionary of the Bassa language, which, together with the Gospels and several of the Epistles of the New Testament, was ready for the press

* A memoir of this excellent missionary has been written by Mrs. R. B. Medbery, from which several of the above-mentioned facts have been derived.

near the close of 1846, but which, in the pressure of other labors, appears never to have been published.

In this manner, the mission continued to prosper to an extent, in many respects, quite disproportionate to the number of laborers who were employed in its service. For a considerable period, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, unlike the missionaries who preceded them, were blessed with uninterrupted health. Mrs. Crocker, however, was less fortunate, and it soon became evident that her constitution was wasting away beneath the influence of the climate. After one or two unavailing voyages to distant parts of the coast, she was obliged to abandon the mission and return to this country. She arrived in the summer of 1846, and though she has recovered her health and is ready to return to her station on the African coast, yet the recent melancholy changes in the mission have hitherto rendered her return impracticable, and she is now waiting among her friends for some more favorable aspect of its darkened fortunes.

Nor did the remaining missionaries long escape the dismal fatality that has so often attended the efforts of Christian philanthropy upon these pestilential shores. Even before the departure of Mrs. Crocker, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke had been obliged to suspend their labors, and had accompanied their friend on her voyage along the coast. Though they returned with strength recruited by the voyage, yet it was only for a brief season. Mr. Clarke had repeatedly set forth the wants of the mission in his communications to the Executive Committee, and had appealed in its behalf in the most earnest manner to those who were about entering the Christian ministry. But none had offered themselves for the service; and the lone missionary, now conscious of declining health and sensible that his work would be speedily closed, was compelled to look forward to the extinction of his hopes, and it might be the ruin of all that he and his departed coadjutors had so long labored to accomplish. He, however, toiled on, sorrowing yet not dismayed at the prospect of the mission; and Heaven granted the renewal of his strength, and enabled him, for upwards of a year, to prosecute

his labors with but little interruption and with encouraging success. In addition to his general superintendence of all the stations, he preached in many of the villages, visited the leading chiefs of the tribe, and made considerable progress in the translation of the Scriptures and the revision of the Bassa Dictionary. He also witnessed many spiritual fruits of his ministry and that of his assistants. Many of the natives, both at the stations of the mission and in the villages where he preached the gospel, embraced its truths and were baptized in obedience to its precepts. Its influence also became more and more perceptible in the character and condition of the tribe; their manners and morals were improving, and all the interests of their civilization were steadily advancing by means of the instructions and agencies which proceeded from the schools, the churches, and the books of the mission.

It was plain, however, that amidst all these beneficial results, the life of the missionary was rapidly wearing away. He was repeatedly invited by the Executive Committee to return to this country, but he was unwilling to leave the station till some one should arrive to take his place and enter into his labors. In waiting for this he lingered too long. After a protracted illness, which at first attacked him with exceeding violence, he sailed from Liberia with Mrs. Clarke, on his passage to America, on the 4th of April, 1848, and died at sea on the 26th of the same month.

Thus closed the labors of the last in the worthy succession of devoted missionaries sent to Africa by the American Baptists; and thus too must close, with melancholy abruptness, the history of the African Mission. Though it records many noble and philanthropic labors and many valuable results, yet it is too often only the sad recital of disaster and death to the heroic men who have achieved them,—the same dread features that characterize all the other missions upon that fatal coast. A few assistants were left at the stations under the charge of Rev. Jacob Vonbrunn, a native Bassa, and by them the mission has been kept in being since the departure of Mr. Clarke.

The ladies belonging to it are still in this country, but are desirous of returning to the scene of their recent labors and sorrows, so soon as arrangements can be made for the renewal of the mission. The Executive Committee, however, await the proffer of services from men who, in the spirit of those that have gone before, are willing to encounter the perils of the climate and the hardships of the coast for the sake of the glorious objects that remain to be accomplished. When such men shall offer themselves for the service of the mission, its stations, now nearly deserted, will again be occupied; and the philanthropic hopes which have been warmly cherished concerning the Bassas may yet be fully realized, by their progress in civilization and their conversion to Christianity.

In connection with the foregoing sketch of the mission in Western Africa, may properly be mentioned here the attempt of the Board to establish a mission, also for the benefit of the African race, in the island of Hayti. It was made in 1835, under auspices that were then deemed propitious, but it encountered obstacles that were not anticipated, and after a brief experiment it was abandoned. The only missionary ever employed in the service was Mr. William C. Monroe, an educated man of color, who was ordained at New York and sailed for Port au Prince in April, 1835. On his arrival he immediately commenced public worship and the preaching of the gospel at his own house, and by the following January he had gathered a church of twelve individuals. In the course of the year, nine others were added to the little company; but no suitable spot could be obtained for the erection of a house of worship, and the services were still held, though at great disadvantage, at the dwelling of the missionary, where but few could attend. Early in 1837, Mr. Monroe visited the United States for the purpose of making known the wants of the mission and obtaining aid for their supply. Meeting however but little encouragement, he returned to Port au Prince in June, and after suffering much from sickness, and finding the mission still in a

languishing condition, he withdrew from the service of the Board. Since that period, no attempt has been made to renew the mission, — which was perhaps at the beginning hastily undertaken, with too little regard to the expenditures that would be required, or the means that were available for their supply.

MISSION IN FRANCE.

CHAPTER XX.

COMMENCEMENT of the Mission. — Agency of Messrs. Chase and Rostan — Appointment of Mr. Willmarth. — Messrs. Willard and Sheldon join the Mission at Paris. — Messrs. Willmarth and Willard settle at Douay. — The Chapel at Genlis. — Mr. Willmarth leaves the Mission. — Mr. Sheldon goes to Douay: returns to America. — Religious Freedom in France in the Reign of Louis Phillippe. — Hostility to the Mission. — Civil Prosecutions. — The Revolution of February. — General Progress of the Mission. — Visit of Mr. Willard to the United States. — Dr. Devan joins the Mission. — Stationed at Paris — Religious Freedom under the New Constitution.

At the meeting of the General Convention in 1832, a resolution was adopted instructing the Board of Managers to inquire into the expediency of establishing a mission in France. The revolution which two years before had taken place in that country, and which had resulted in placing Louis Phillippe upon the throne, had also done much, it was believed, to loosen the hold of the Roman Catholic church upon the minds of the people, and to prepare the way for the extension of evangelical truth. The special objects proposed for such a mission were the revival and increase of the Baptist churches there, and the general dissemination of the gospel among the people. The Board, after suitable inquiries, determined to send an agent to France, in order to ascertain the condition of the churches and the opportunities which the country presented for the spread of Christian truth.

For this purpose Rev. Ira Chase, D. D., professor in the Theological Seminary at Newton, was appointed, and sailed for Havre in October, 1832. He was accompanied by Rev. J. C. Rostan, a French gentleman of education, who had been re-

siding in the United States. They proceeded immediately to Paris, where they soon opened a small chapel in which services were performed on the Sabbath and on other stated days of the week. Mr. Rostan here became associated with Rev. Mr. Cloux, a missionary of the English Baptist Continental Society, and during the winter and spring of 1832-3, they conducted together a system of preaching and lecturing, united with pastoral visiting among the people who frequented the chapel. Mr. Rostan also aimed to commend the cause in which he was engaged to the consideration of persons of liberal sentiments, whose influence might aid in its advancement; and for this purpose he held several interviews with General La Fayette, and members of the Chamber of Deputies, to whom he fully explained the nature and objects of his mission. He was, however, soon invited to officiate temporarily, during the absence of the regular incumbent, as lecturer upon Christianity before the Society for Promoting Civilization, and while thus employed he died of cholera in December, 1833.

Professor Chase, after spending several weeks in Paris, repaired to the *Departement du Nord*, where the Baptist churches of France were said to be the most numerous. He found them here in a scattered and dilapidated condition, — cherishing the principles of uncorrupted Christianity, but often defective in organization and subject to the inroads of every species of error, yet delighted to learn that he had come from those holding the same Christian doctrines in America, and eager to receive the aid which he proffered. He inquired particularly concerning the condition of Protestantism in France, and on his return to the United States submitted to the Board a full report of his observations and the conclusions to which they led him, and recommended the establishment of a permanent mission in the country.

This recommendation was adopted by the Board, and Mr. Isaac Willmarth, then a member of the Theological Institution at Newton, was appointed to commence the mission at Paris. Having completed his studies at Newton and been ordained, he

reached the French capital in June, 1834. Here he soon associated with his labors Rev. Anthony Porchat, a French Baptist clergyman, and they together conducted religious services on the Sabbath — twice in French and once in English — and also on one evening at least during the week.

The instructions of the Board had directed Mr. Willmarth to make it one of the principal objects of the mission to train young men of suitable character for the ministry of the gospel. He soon became acquainted with several of this description, in the protestant circles in which he mingled, and two of them placed themselves under his instructions so soon as arrangements could be made for the purpose. A church of ten members was also organized in July, 1835, and additional preachers soon after began to be employed both in the capital and at several places in the provinces. In the summer of this year Mr. Willmarth made his first visit to the Baptist churches in the Department of the North, where he was soon joined by Rev. Professor Sears, then on a visit to the Continent of Europe, and charged by the Board with the duty of advising in the conduct of the mission. They found the churches in this part of the country eager to become connected with the mission, and expressing the warmest gratitude for the aid and encouragement they were already receiving from America. Many of these simple people seemed not to have been aware that there were others in the world who held views of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical order similar to their own, and they repeated again and again to Professor Sears, as he parted from them, their earnest desire that he "would not let their brethren on this side of the Atlantic leave them or neglect them."

In November, Rev. Erastus Willard and Rev. D. N. Sheldon arrived in Paris and joined the mission. They spent the winter at the capital, assisting Mr. Willmarth in preaching in English, distributing tracts and religious books and writing for the press, and at the same time perfecting their acquaintance with the French language. In the spring of 1836 Messrs. Willmarth and Willard removed to Douay, a large and celebrated town in

the north of France, for the purpose of establishing near there a mission school, for the instruction of candidates for the ministry and others who might desire to study the doctrines of the gospel. The place ultimately selected for the school was Nomain, a village about twelve miles from Douay, in which was a Baptist church. The school was commenced, though in consequence of subsequent events its design has never been fully carried into execution. The church at Nomain, and also those of Lannoy, Bertry and Orchies, were at their own request adopted by the mission, and as some of them were without regular pastors, suitable persons were ordained and set over them. From these central points the missionaries and their French assistants went forth often through the surrounding country, and subordinate stations were soon established in other villages for the regular preaching of the gospel. Several other persons were employed as colporteurs, who traversed the districts of the North distributing tracts, books and Bibles, and in this way calling the attention of the people to the simple truths of Christianity.

In some of the excursions thus made, the missionaries or their assistants found persons who had long been reading the Scriptures for themselves, and had secretly renounced much of their allegiance to the Romish church. At the town of Genlis and some of the neighboring villages they met with eleven persons, who, without guidance and without concert, had adopted the most satisfactory views both of the doctrines and the ordinances of the gospel, and were withal pious and exemplary Christians. Seven of these were soon formed into a church at Genlis, and Mr. Crétin, a pupil of the missionaries at Douay, was ordained and placed over them. Among these persons was a Mr. Hersigny, a plain man, who after long study of the Bible had left the church of Rome, and embraced the Protestant faith with intelligent convictions and warm-hearted zeal. He rendered much valuable service for the mission, and built at his own expense a neat and convenient chapel for the use of the church. Permission was sought of the mayor of Genlis — for the law of France made

this necessary — to open it for public service, but this functionary refused to grant the request; and, though it was often repeated, the little chapel long remained unoccupied, — a memento alike of the generous faith of its humble builder and of the foolish, though legalized, intolerance of the bigoted magistrate.

During this period Mr. Sheldon had remained at Paris, though not without making several visits to the provinces of the North. The chapel which he at first occupied was found to be so inconveniently situated that it was at length relinquished, and the public services of the mission were held at his own house and that of Mrs. Rostan, or occasionally at those of members of the church. The principal labors of Mr. Sheldon at Paris were of a retired and private character, and were devoted to the dissemination of the gospel by other agencies than that of preaching. In September, 1837, Mr. Willmarth, having long been in feeble health, returned to the United States and was never afterwards actively engaged in the service of the mission. His absence imposed many additional labors upon Mr. Willard, his associate at Douay, who, besides the instruction of his pupils in theology, was in the midst of a cluster of missionary stations which had been planted by the agency of his assistants, and were now requiring frequent visitations and almost constant superintendence and care. He soon found himself thus, with every month, more and more withdrawn from the work of instructing and training the candidates for the ministry who were under his charge. This was one of the chief objects of the mission, and could not be neglected. It was therefore deemed best that Mr. Sheldon should leave his station at Paris and become associated with Mr. Willard at Douay. The step seemed necessary, though it was taken with reluctance, for the prospects of the mission at the capital were at that time unusually inviting. The removal was effected in April, 1839, and Mr. Sheldon immediately assumed the charge of the theological pupils, and conducted service every Sabbath in the English chapel at Douay. In the following November he returned to the United States, having decided to enter other spheres of usefulness at home.

The charter which was made the fundamental law in France by the revolution of July, 1830, contained a distinct provision for the entire freedom of religious faith and worship. Its language was, "Each one professes his religion with equal liberty, and obtains for his worship the same protection." But notwithstanding this guaranty of the charter, the humble experience of our missionaries is alone sufficient to show that France was at this time by no means the home of religious freedom. Several articles of the penal code adopted by the legislative chambers, were in direct opposition both to the letter and the original spirit of this fundamental law. One of these articles contained a statute decreeing that "no association of more than twenty persons, whose object shall be to meet on stated days for religious, literary, political, or other purposes, can be formed but with the consent of the government, and upon the conditions which the public authority shall impose." Another statute in the same code provided that "whoever without permission of the municipal authority shall have granted or consented to the use of his house or apartment, or any part thereof, for the meeting even of an authorized association, or for the exercise of public worship, shall be punished in a fine of from sixteen to two hundred francs." The power to grant this permission was vested in the mayors of communes throughout the kingdom, and these officers were generally Roman Catholics, and so fully under the dominion of the priesthood and the church, that they seldom favored the extension of privileges to persons whom they were taught to despise and condemn as heretics and fanatics.

Under the operation of laws couched in terms like these, stimulated as it often was by a virulent public sentiment, it is obvious that the spirit of the charter might easily be perverted, and religious freedom trampled under foot both by priest and by magistrate. Accordingly we find that the Baptist preachers and churches connected with the mission, soon began to experience every species of opposition and persecution in many of the towns where they were established. The instance of the chapel at Genlis, built by Mr. Hersigny on his own estate, has already

been mentioned. The request for permission to open the chapel, on its being refused by the mayor, was carried to the Prefect of the Department, and from him to the Minister of Worship at Paris; but from none of these officers could a privilege so essential to religious freedom be obtained. Meanwhile the little church at Genlis was obliged to meet in the private houses of its members, and even there they were often interrupted by inquisitorial visits from the police or the national guard, who came to see that their number did not exceed the limit allowed by law. The same hostility was encountered in several other places in the provinces of the North. Meetings were broken up, the persons in whose houses they were held were fined and imprisoned, and the ministers of religion who preached at those meetings were arrested and punished by the municipal officers, and sometimes were indicted in the higher courts. In the trials which were held, though the boasted provisions of the charter were constantly pleaded, the enactments relating to associations were uniformly sustained by the courts, and the charter was virtually abrogated.

Such was religious freedom in France from 1840 to 1848,—the last eight years of the reign of the citizen King, Louis Philippe. Placed upon the throne by a revolution which pledged him to a liberal policy, and restricted by a charter which contained abundant provisions for the rights of the people, his government gradually became more and more tyrannical and odious. Conceiving for himself and his family the most magnificent schemes of ambition, he is said to have surrendered himself to the control of the priesthood, and to have exerted his kingly power, both among the sequestered hamlets of his own kingdom and on the distant islands of the Pacific, for the suppression of the Protestant faith. It is certain that in the instances we have mentioned, and in many others which occurred both in our own and in other communions, his ministers and their subordinate officers were able to close the chapels, to suppress the preaching of the gospel, and to arrest and fine and imprison innocent and peaceful citizens for no other acts than the sim-

ple exercise of their chartered freedom to worship as they pleased.

But the rights of the human soul, in a civilized land, are not long thus to be outraged with impunity. The judicial trials and investigations which grew out of these proceedings soon attracted the notice of liberal-minded men of all parties, and the murmurs of disapprobation began to sound through the land. These acts of oppression were in some instances reported and commented upon by the press; and petitions, signed by large numbers, not only of those who were liable thus to suffer, but of every class of Protestant Christians and by many Roman Catholics, were sent to the Chambers, praying for the repeal of the odious statutes and the security of the freedom of worship. Many men of high standing, and among them several members of the Chamber of Deputies, became warmly interested in a question which thus obviously involved one of the dearest rights of humanity. The petitions appear to have been little heeded by the servile Chambers to whom they were addressed, but the privileges which they claimed were sanctioned by the judgments of thousands.

After suffering these restrictions and disabilities for several years, during which they were constantly becoming more oppressive and iniquitous, two of the assistants connected with the mission were seized and cast into prison for alleged violations of the statute relating to associations. Their names were Lepoids and Foulon, — the former of whom, especially, was distinguished for superior talents and long-trying fidelity as a minister of the gospel. Their arrest took place towards the close of 1846, and they were brought to trial before a subordinate court at Laon in January, 1847. They were of course condemned, and were sentenced to pay a fine of three hundred francs each, — their crime being, in the language of the Judge, that of "*having associated with others in the name of a new religion, called the religion of the Protestant Baptists.*" The case was appealed to the Royal Court of Amiens, and Mr. Odillon Barrot, the distinguished advocate, who is now prime minister

in the Cabinet of the President of the French Republic, was engaged to defend it. The trial came on in March, but Mr. Barrot was unfortunately detained by illness. He sent an advocate to appear in his place, who obtained a delay of fifteen days; but the counsel was still unable to attend, and the trial proceeded without him. The missionaries, however, were ably defended by Mr. de Brouard, an eminent advocate from Paris, assisted by Mr. Lutteroth, editor of *Le Semeur*,* who went out to Amiens on purpose to countenance and aid them. The judgment of the court below was modified in some important particulars, and the fine was reduced from three hundred to fifty francs; but the meetings of these ministers and their brethren were still decided to be *associations*, and therefore to come within the statutes. From this decision their counsel immediately made an appeal, and carried the case up to the Court of *Cassation* at Paris.† Here it was still pending, and its final trial was approaching, when the revolution of February, 1848, dissolved the Legislative Chambers, overthrew the monarchy, and drove the faithless king from his throne and his palace to wander an exile in a foreign land.

By this event the question at issue was decided without a trial by the Court, and unrestrained religious freedom was proclaimed in France. The prefects and mayors and magistrates of every degree, who had been created by the fallen government, were now dispossessed of their ill-used authority, and the meetings of the Protestant churches were relieved from the odious espionage and visitation to which they had been so long subject. On the 26th of March the chapel built by Mr. Hersigny at Genlis, which had remained unoccupied for eleven years, was opened with appropriate ceremonies for the public worship of God. The occasion was one of more than common interest, even at that period of stirring and wonderful events. It brought together from a distance the scattered friends and

* *The Sower*, an ably-conducted religious newspaper.

† This is the highest Court of Appeals. It corresponds to a Court of Errors, which has power to annul the proceedings of inferior tribunals.

disciples of the mission, and was celebrated as the triumph of a great principle which had long been overborne and crushed by powerful foes.

Thus terminated the struggle of religious freedom in which our mission in France had been involved almost from its commencement. All its operations had hitherto been conducted at immense disadvantage, subject to constant surveillance and frequent interruption by bigoted magistrates and police, who were always ready to carry into effect the intolerant policy that ruled the councils of the government. Though the annoyances which have been mentioned proceeded most frequently from Roman Catholics, yet this was by no means always the case. They were often instigated or openly sanctioned by members of those Protestant churches which were authorized by the government, and known as "National Churches,"—bodies in which the doctrines and the spirit of the Reformation were but imperfectly recognized, and whose conduct in these instances but too well demonstrated that intolerance is confined to no church, but belongs to human nature wherever it is clothed with the power to oppress.

During the greater part of this period, however, the mission, notwithstanding the hinderances and embarrassments it had to encounter, made perceptible progress from year to year. Mr. Willard continued to reside at Douay, and though, after the departure of Mr. Sheldon the theological school was suspended, he was still able, in addition to frequent preaching and superintending all the stations, to instruct the ministers and the other assistants both in the doctrines of the gospel and in the principles of ecclesiastical order and discipline. These principles had been singularly neglected in most of the Protestant churches of the country, and the importance and the benefits of the church as an organized body were but imperfectly appreciated. For the purpose of diffusing juster sentiments concerning this subject among those connected with the mission, he endeavored to make the church at Douay serve as a school in which candidates for the ministry, and others who were employed as assistants,

might become acquainted with the duties of Christian pastors, and the government and action of a church. In this manner the principles of good order and discipline were spread through the stations, and inculcated upon all who were concerned in their management; and Mr. Willard had the satisfaction of seeing the preachers who were connected with the mission growing in knowledge and in piety, and becoming more efficient ministers of the gospel.

At the beginning of 1840, just after the departure of Mr. Sheldon, there were in the employ of the Board six ordained ministers and five assistants, who preached or performed other duties at seven stations and five out-stations, and, under the direction of the missionary, had the care of seven churches, numbering in all about one hundred and forty members. Four years later the number of churches had increased to twelve, and of members to two hundred and ten; and though the number of preachers had scarcely changed, the stations at which they preached were upwards of twenty. In December, 1844, Mr. Willard returned to the United States for the benefit of his health, leaving the mission under the charge of two or three of the most experienced of the pastors who were connected with it. His visit here was at a period when the Board was embarrassed with debt, and the retrenchment of missionary expenditures was strongly pressed upon the attention of its members. By some among them it was thought that the mission in France, inasmuch as it was planted among a civilized people and not among heathen, ought first to be stricken off. At the special meeting of the Convention which was held in November, 1845, it was, however, decided that the mission should be continued; and early in the following summer Mr. Willard returned to his station at Douay.

During his absence the mission had made but little progress even at the most favored stations, and at others it had obviously lost ground. One minister and one assistant had died, and amidst the intrigues of the National Protestants and the persecutions of Catholic magistrates, several of the churches had declined

in regularity of worship and in unity of faith. Mr. Willard immediately set about correcting the errors which had sprung up; but he encountered serious obstacles in the acts of violence done to the cause of religious freedom, which, as has already been mentioned, were both numerous and flagrant during the closing years of the reign of Louis Phillippe. The result, however, as a whole, he regarded as highly encouraging. Though the number of converts was not so large as he anticipated, yet the great body of them stood firm even amidst the derision and persecution of their foes, and were obviously making commendable improvement in piety and knowledge of the gospel, and also in ecclesiastical order and discipline.

Early in 1848 Dr. Devan, lately of the mission in China, having been obliged by ill health to leave Canton, was requested by the Board to join the mission in France. He reached Paris on the 8th of March, while the city was still agitated by the tumults and passions of the revolution. In a few days he repaired to Douay in order to consult with Mr. Willard; and on his return to Paris he made it his first business to ascertain the opportunities for commencing again the missionary labors which had been discontinued on the departure of Mr. Sheldon. The church had become scattered in the lapse of nine years, so that not one of its original members could now be found. Dr. Devan, however, soon met with several members of the churches in the provinces who, with their families and associates, might form the nucleus of a congregation for public worship. He immediately secured a suitable apartment and commenced his labors as a missionary, intending to explore the provinces of the South before finally settling in Paris. The fierce excitements and frightful contests of which the city has since been the scene, have naturally drawn the minds of men away from religion as well as from all the pursuits of quiet industry; but should the storm of revolution be now succeeded by political and social tranquillity, we may hope that the mission both at Paris and at Douay will yet contribute some humble agency towards

blending the influences of evangelical truth with those of republican freedom, in shaping the destinies of France.

The history of mankind teaches us by many an example that true "soul liberty" depends far less upon the form of a nation's government, than upon the spirit that rules in the hearts of the people. The new constitution of the French Republic, like the charter of 1830, declares that "every one may freely profess his own religion, and is to receive from the State equal protection in the exercise of his worship;" but in the same article it also provides that "the ministers of the different religions *recognized by law*," shall "have the right of receiving payment from the State." Words like these are alone sufficient to cast a shade over the prospects of religious freedom in France. They show how imperfectly it is understood either by statesmen or people, and render it probable that, amidst the shifting currents of public opinion, the constitution may yet be made to sanction legislative enactments or executive decrees as intolerant as those which disgraced the reign of Louis Phillippe. Indeed, indications of such a result have already appeared in here and there an instance of civil interference with the rights of worship; but they have been of the most inconsiderable importance, save on account of the invaluable principle which they involve. The tone of public sentiment is far more tolerant and free than during the reign of the now exiled monarch, and the missionaries cherish the sanguine hope that hereafter they may pursue, unharmed and even unrestricted, their chosen work of preaching to the people the doctrines of the gospel.

MISSION IN GERMANY AND DENMARK.

CHAPTER XXI.

OBJECT of the Mission. — Visit of Professor Sears to Germany. — Rev. J. G. Oncken appointed Missionary at Hamburg. — Extension of the Mission to other States. — Decree of the Senate of Hamburg against the Mission. — Petitions of the Board and of others in the United States and in England. — Persecution in other States of Germany. — Growth of the Mission. — Change of Policy in Hamburg and in other States. — Persecution most severe in Denmark. — Imprisonment of the Danish Missionaries. — Visit of Mr. Oncken to England. — Persecution allayed. — Deputation of Messrs. Hackett and Conant to Denmark. — The "Law of Amnesty." — Troubles in the Danish Churches. — Peculiar Features of the Mission. — Its Connection with Religious Freedom. — The Recent Revolution. — Its Effects upon the Mission.

IN the northern and central provinces of Germany there are said to be established many communities of the successors of the ancient Anabaptists, who, under the various names of Remonstrants, Mennonites and Galenists, have obtained for themselves a kind of toleration from the government, and still cherish doctrines and usages resembling in many respects those of the Baptists of England and America. To revive religion among these scattered communities, who were without the pale of the national church, and to establish with them fraternal relations and Christian sympathies, was the original design of the Board in directing their attention to Germany. This design, however, was early abandoned; and the mission, though devoted to far other ends than those originally contemplated, has yet accomplished objects of great importance to the ultimate triumphs of the gospel in that country.

In the year 1833, Rev. Professor Sears embarked for the continent of Europe with the design of spending some time at one of

more of the universities of Germany. He was requested by the Board of Managers, at the same time, to make inquiries respecting the religious condition of the country, and to report what missionary aid could be extended to those who had embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, and also what could be done in general for the dissemination of the gospel. In prosecuting his inquiries, Mr. Sears met with many individuals who held the faith of the Baptists concerning the ordinance of baptism and the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but they were generally scattered through the Lutheran churches of the country, or were cherishing their solitary faith apart from every Christian communion. In the city of Hamburg he became acquainted with a small circle who were of this description. Among these was Mr. J. G. Oncken, a person of excellent judgment and earnest piety, who, though without an university education, spoke several European languages, and had made respectable attainments in Christian theology. He was at that time in the employ of the English Continental Society, and also of the Edinburgh Bible Society, and was favorably known to many of the leading evangelical ministers of Germany. Mr. Oncken was already a Baptist in the convictions of his own mind, and on the 22d of April, 1834, he was baptized with six others by Professor Sears, in the waters of the Elbe at Hamburg. On the following day they were organized into a church, of which Mr. Oncken was soon ordained the pastor.

In the report which Mr. Sears submitted to the Board, he recommended that a mission be established in Germany, and that Mr. Oncken be appointed to commence the undertaking. The arrangements however were not completed till September, 1835, when he entered the service of the Board, though still retaining his connection with the Edinburgh Bible Society. At about the same time Mr. C. F. Lange, who had previously been associated with Mr. Oncken in the employ of the Continental Society, was appointed colporteur and assistant in the mission.

The newly-appointed missionaries were directed to maintain public worship with the little church at Hamburg, and also to

extend their labors, in distributing tracts and Bibles and in preaching the gospel, to Bremen, Oldenburg, and other towns in the north of Germany, — a district with whose religious condition they had already become well acquainted. A small room was accordingly procured at Hamburg, in which public worship was conducted on the Sabbath, and meetings for prayer and for instruction in the Bible were held on other days of the week. A temperance society was also formed, which multiplied the friends of the mission, and soon became a useful auxiliary in circulating evangelical sentiments, as well as an efficient agent of reform. The persons who thus became associated with Mr. Oncken at Hamburg began immediately to take measures for securing a more perfect observance of the Sabbath, and in other respects for creating a higher standard of morals than generally prevailed among those of the same class in the Lutheran and Romish churches of the city. The church increased with a rapidity that even surpassed the hopes either of the missionaries or of the Board, and a portion of its members devoted themselves to voluntary and systematic labors in promoting the objects of the mission.

The different States of Germany were at this period each possessed of a national church, which could at any time summon to its aid the civil power in the suppression of heresy. Such establishments, though they may check the progress of free inquiry, can never repress dissent among a thoughtful and intellectual people. The human mind, in proportion to its intelligence, refuses to receive its religious faith by the prescriptions of public law, and turns away in disgust from a church which embraces in its fold all the citizens of a State, whatever be the religious doctrines they hold or the moral character they bear. Thus was it among the people of Germany at the period when Mr. Oncken began his labors. No sooner did it become known that a Christian congregation had been formed on the basis of a voluntary profession of faith and of baptism by immersion, than many persons, not only in the city of Hamburg but in the neighboring States, began to seek

for information concerning it; and wherever the missionaries travelled, they met with those by whom the new views were readily received. In this manner, within three years from the commencement of the mission, churches were established at Berlin, at Oldenburg, and at Stuttgart, which, with the church at Hamburg, contained a hundred and twenty members. In addition to these many had been baptized at Marburg, Jever and other towns which had been visited by the missionaries. Mr. Oncken was specially invited to Stuttgart, in Wurtemberg, by Dr. Römer, an intelligent gentleman who had heard of the character of the mission, and in a single visit he administered the ordinance of baptism to twenty-three persons. The churches which were thus formed found each a pastor among its own members—in most instances a person of intelligence and some degree of education—whom they chose to be ordained and set over them in the ministry of the gospel.

The rise and growth of a new body of Christians, distinguished for their zeal and purity of life, and united in a solemn and earnest protest against some of the usages and doctrines of the national church, soon became the subject of common remark in private circles, and was not long in attracting the official notice of the magistrates of the several States in which their congregations were established. By the more serious members of the Lutheran communion they were denounced as heretics and schismatics, who, by their rejection of infant baptism, were guilty of the crime of promoting discord and disunion in "the sacred body of Christ," as they styled their own church,—while by others they were despised as fanatics, and held up to the derision of the populace and the punishment of the magistrates.

The earliest open attempt of the magistrates to restrict the labors of Mr. Oncken and his associates, was in September, 1837, just after eight persons had been baptized and added to the church at Hamburg. Complaints were immediately made to the senior of the Lutheran clergy in the city, who requested the police to put a stop to their proceedings. Orders to the

same effect were issued by the Senate of Hamburg, and Mr. Oncken, with several members of his church, were summoned before the magistrates and minutely questioned concerning their faith and usages, especially in relation to baptism. No final order, however, was taken against them; countenance was even given them by one of the senators, and their meetings were continued with fuller attendance and greater interest than before. A larger place of worship was obtained for the accommodation of the increasing congregation, and the labors of the mission went on with little interruption from the police,—though in the administration of the ordinance of baptism it was deemed prudent to repair to a place on the opposite shore of the Elbe, in the neighboring jurisdiction of Hanover. This season of rest however was soon brought to a close. In April, 1839, the senate again attempted the suppression of the labors of the missionaries. It issued a decree enjoining the chief magistrate of the police to summon Mr. Oncken and his associates, and “to inform the said Oncken that the senate neither acknowledges the society which he denominates the Baptist church nor himself as its preacher: that on the contrary the senate can only view it as a criminal schism of which he is the sole author.” The magistrate was further directed “to prohibit him from all further exercise of his unauthorized and unrecognized ministerial functions,” and also to prohibit his associates “from all further participation in the same culpable and unlawful proceedings.” The members of the church, however, immediately sent a petition and remonstrance to the senate, which was seconded by an address from the members of the Board and other individuals in this country, praying that Mr. Oncken and his associates might be allowed the exercise of freedom of faith and of worship.

Notwithstanding this decree of the senate, the church continued to hold its meetings unharmed for several months; when at length, as was supposed on some new complaint being made by the ecclesiastics of the city, Mr. Oncken was arrested and cast into prison in May, 1840,—charged with having “continued

to preach, baptize and administer the Lord's Supper, according to his own confession, notwithstanding the prohibition of the authorities." One of the members of his church was also imprisoned for allowing a religious meeting at his house, and one of the assistants was arrested while preaching, and the congregation was dispersed by the police. The imprisonment of Mr. Oncken continued for four weeks, in circumstances of great suffering and privation, and on his enlargement his furniture was sold by the police in order to defray the charges of his arrest and his keeping while in prison.

So soon as these persecutions became known to the Board they determined to spare no endeavors, not only to effect the liberation of the missionaries, but also, if possible, to secure freedom of worship for the churches that were now springing up in nearly every State in Germany and in the neighboring kingdom of Denmark. They immediately appointed Rev. Dr. Welch of Albany, a member of their body, to proceed to Washington, for the purpose of conferring with the President of the United States, and obtaining his influence with the government of Hamburg in behalf of persons whose only crime was their membership of a communion which in this country embraces a large and respectable portion of the Christian public. The President, though distinctly declining all official interference, received with favor the request of the Board, and through the agency of the American Consul at Hamburg caused a representation to be made which resulted in great advantage to the persecuted missionaries and their followers. A memorial was at the same time presented to the senate of the city, signed by several eminent persons connected with the government of the United States, and by many other distinguished citizens, setting forth the high character of the American Baptists, and testifying to the purity of their doctrines and the good order of their churches. Memorials to the same effect were also presented by the Edinburgh Bible Society and by a deputation from the Baptist churches of England, the latter bearing five thousand signatures. These representations were not without effect;

though no immunity was specially granted to the members of the church at Hamburg, the measures which had been commenced against them were discontinued; and from that time they have enjoyed comparative freedom from official annoyance.

But these acts of persecution were not confined to the branch of the mission which was established at Hamburg. They were repeated, with greater or less aggravation, at Oldenburg, at Berlin and other cities of Prussia; at Stuttgart, and in several of the towns of Hessa, Bavaria, Pomerania, — and even in the kingdom of Hanover, where, if in any portion of Germany, on account of its connections with England, we might hope to find the exercise of religious freedom unrestricted. To each of these States the missionaries had extended their labors, and the views of Christian doctrine which they put forth were embraced by considerable numbers of the people; and in each were ministers fined and imprisoned for preaching or for administering the ordinances of the gospel; congregations were broken up by the police, and private members of churches were compelled to have their infants baptized, and were punished for their participation in the heresies promulgated by the missionaries. These punishments were inflicted, not on account of any fanaticism and indiscreet zeal on the part of the ministers, or any unworthy conduct on the part of their disciples; they were all acts of intolerance, called forth by no crime but that of dissenting from the established faith of the country, and daring to worship in accordance with the independent dictates of their own conscience. They were the bitter yet unfailing fruits of the vicious principle engrafted upon the constitutions of these several States, by which the government was clothed with authority to prescribe the religious faith as well as to protect the persons and property of its subjects, — a principle which, in whatever part of the world it has been recognized, has uniformly been productive of the most disastrous and iniquitous results.

It is true that in many of these places the disciples of the new faith were generally of the humbler classes of society; yet

the restrictions which were imposed upon their worship were not on this account the less wrong, or the less disgraceful to a country which had once reëchoed with the doctrines of the Reformation. The humble origin of the Baptist churches in Germany may serve to explain the readiness with which the magistrates inflicted the penalties of the law upon their pastors and members ; but the sanction which was given to these cruel proceedings by pious divines of the Lutheran church, and by distinguished theologians and expounders of Christianity, shows the imperfect manner in which the rights of the human soul are understood even by the wisest and most illustrious of the land. They generally regarded the toleration of the Baptists as a precedent fraught with the utmost danger to the interests of true religion, which, they conceived, could be sustained only by the enforcements of public law. This was especially true at Berlin, where Rev. Mr. Lehmann was the pastor of a thriving church. He was ordained in England in 1841, in order to secure a higher respect for his ministerial character ; and though his foreign ordination undoubtedly proved advantageous to his ministry, he did not long escape the punishments which both church and state united in visiting upon those who ventured to preach the gospel in forms not recognized by the law. To the appeals which were made in his behalf it was answered, even by men well known as friends of evangelical truth, that if the Baptists were tolerated every species of dissenting faith, and even infidelity itself must be allowed, — and that thus piety would become extinct and Christianity would be destroyed. It was by reasonings like these — which to an American citizen appear childish and futile — that the most odious violations of religious freedom were vindicated and justified at the enlightened capital of the kingdom of Prussia ; and that too by theologians and philosophers whose piety and learning have filled the world with their fame.

The rapid growth of the mission during the first three years of its existence has been already mentioned. These years, and several of those immediately following, were filled with persecu-

tions, and the missionaries were constantly harassed with arrests and fines inflicted upon them by the government. Yet they travelled through the States of Germany, every where preaching the word and every where meeting with those who received it gladly. In 1840 there had been established in four of the German States and in Denmark, six churches, containing about two hundred members. In 1845 there were thirteen churches in seven different States of Germany, besides three in Denmark, numbering in all nearly fifteen hundred members. This rapid increase was the result of no ephemeral sympathy or transitory enthusiasm. The persons composing these churches, with few exceptions, continued firm amidst the persecutions to which they were constantly exposed. They were often fined, imprisoned or banished from their country; yet they evinced a Christian magnanimity and mildness of spirit which extorted respect even from their enemies, and which was undoubtedly instrumental in advancing the cause of religious freedom. From year to year, as the churches became more numerous, additional ministers were ordained and assistants were appointed, whose labors were gradually extended throughout all the leading States of Germany, and into the kingdom of Denmark. Thus the Bible was held out to the people as the only rule of faith, the only guide in worship. Its simple truths were pressed upon the individual consciences of men as matters of the highest concern, independently of formularies and creeds, of priesthoods and churches. Several works relating to the principles and history of the Baptist denomination were also translated and published, and were circulated by thousands each year, through the agency of colporteurs, along with Bibles, tracts, and other religious books, in every part of Germany. All this was accomplished with an amount of pecuniary assistance from the Board exceedingly small in proportion to the results themselves. Much of the labor by which they were brought about was performed gratuitously, or was compensated by small contributions from the churches; while sums of money were occasionally contributed by benevolent individuals in this country

and in England, for the erection of houses of worship or the relief of those who were suffering from persecution.

After the representations which were addressed to the senate of Hamburg from citizens of the United States and of England, the policy of the government appears to have become more lenient towards the mission. No formal decree was ever passed in its favor, yet the hostility of the magistrates was perceived gradually to subside. Mr. Oncken was again imprisoned in May, 1843, for "having administered the ordinances," but he was speedily released on application being made to the senate. One of the members of his church was fined, and another was exiled for a year, for distributing tracts. These, however, and a few similar instances, were the last exhibitions of any thing like legalized persecution towards the mission at Hamburg. In other German States toleration was not so readily obtained, and in some it has been wholly withheld. In Prussia a decree was passed in 1842, allowing the Baptists to assemble as "a religious community" but not as "a church;" also permitting the administration of Christian ordinances on condition that it be done privately, and that all baptisms be reported to the rector of the parish and to the police. These conditions rendered the concession well nigh nugatory, but even this reluctant and imperfect toleration was hailed as the harbinger of a higher freedom. At Berlin the missionaries, though not free from annoyance, enjoyed far greater immunity than in the smaller towns of the kingdom; a fact which may have had its origin in the interest manifested in their welfare by several citizens of England and the United States, who visited the Prussian capital. In the Duchy of Oldenburg, in Hanover, in Hesse, and others of the minor states of Germany, far less has been accomplished for the cause of religious freedom, and the "bloody tenet of persecution" still sways the councils of the government. But even here it has abated its rigors, and the members of the mission have often passed long periods of exemption from its inflictions.

In Denmark, however, the members of the mission encounter-

ed the most relentless persecution both from magistrates and ecclesiastics. Mr. Oncken first visited Copenhagen in the autumn of 1839, in company with Mr. Köbner, one of the assistants at Hamburg, who had been there during the preceding summer. He found at the Danish capital a small company of pious persons who had already adopted the views of the Baptists concerning the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. These he baptized and formed into a church. The report of these proceedings was speedily sent through the entire country, and as the missionaries were understood to pronounce the baptism of infants invalid, they were vehemently denounced by all parties in the established church. Letters were sent by the leading clergy to different parts of the kingdom, warning ministers and their flocks against the propagators of the new heresy, and representing them as the successors of the ancient Anabaptists, against whom the sternest laws had been enacted in a preceding century. Thus all Denmark was made acquainted with what had been done at Copenhagen by the missionaries. They were every where spoken against, and by none more violently than by the most orthodox and pious portion of the established church. By multitudes of devout Lutherans the performance of the rite of baptism by persons who had no ecclesiastical license, and the formation of a society of those who protested against all civil interference in matters of conscience, were regarded as frightful disorders, fraught with every thing that is blasphemous and revolting to a religious mind.

In this state of public feeling Mr. Moenster, the teacher of the little church at Copenhagen, was called before the magistrates of the city, and, after him, each member of the church in succession. They were minutely examined as to their articles of faith, and each one was separately warned to abandon the new doctrines and return to the national church they had deserted. A few days later the whole body was again brought before the court, and each one was again warned by the public inquisitor,— who confessed, however, while discharging his office, that instead of being, as he expected, a band of fanatics and de-

ceivers, they had proved themselves persons of firm principles and most Christian tempers. The affair was now referred to the Department of State, and, after a delay of several months, a decree was promulgated in April, 1840, that their meetings should be discontinued, and that they should abstain from administering the Lord's Supper, and from *every thing relating to re-baptism*. A decree like this, however, they could not regard, and their meetings, though privately held, were attended by larger numbers than ever before ; new converts were frequently baptized, and at the end of the year 1840 the church contained thirty-two members. Within the same period other churches were established at Langeland, an island in the Great Belt of the Baltic, and at Aalborg in Jutland. At these places, scarcely less than at Copenhagen, the labors of the mission encountered the sternest opposition. Messrs. Oncken and Moenster, who preached the obnoxious doctrines there, were hunted by the police and rewards were offered for their apprehension.

With hostility like this were the simple and inoffensive doctrines of the Baptists obliged to contend on their introduction into Denmark, in the middle of the nineteenth century. These doctrines were the baptism of believers by immersion, the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and the recognition of the Bible alone as the sufficient rule of Christian faith and worship ; doctrines certainly containing nothing perilous to the interests of religion or of social order, — yet they were regarded with horror by many pious minds, and visited with relentless persecution even in the land which three centuries before had been the home of the Reformation.

But this hostility was soon to show itself in more violent forms. In the autumn of 1840, Rev. Peter Moenster, the pastor of the church at Copenhagen, was arrested by the police and thrown into prison for administering the ordinances. He was examined before the Court of Chancery, and directed immediately to leave the kingdom. He however refused to obey, for it was his native country, and he was in consequence consigned to a protracted imprisonment. His brother, Rev. Adolph Moenster,

who had been a student of theology at one of the universities, was appointed to succeed him in the ministry of the church; but in a few weeks he also was sent to prison for administering the ordinance of baptism. Severe penalties were in like manner inflicted on many members of the churches in different parts of the kingdom. They were subjected to fines and arrests, and were compelled by the magistrates to have their children sprinkled by the Lutheran ministers, in order, as was declared in the royal decree, that "they might not be debarred the blessing of immediate admission into the Christian church."

In this state of affairs Mr. Oncken, in the summer of 1841, went to England for the purpose of making known there the condition of these persecuted churches and their imprisoned pastors, and of obtaining from prominent Baptist clergymen, certificates that they regarded the Danish Baptists as their own brethren, and their churches as regular and well ordered churches of Christ. These certificates were readily obtained, and with them were also sent several handsome contributions for the relief of these suffering victims of ecclesiastical bigotry. Similar certificates were at nearly the same time sent from the United States; and in the course of the summer a deputation from the English Baptists proceeded to Denmark, for the purpose of presenting to the king still further representations and memorials in behalf of their persecuted brethren. The gentlemen composing the deputation were introduced at court by the British Plenipotentiary, and were aided in all their efforts to promote religious freedom by Joseph John Gurney and his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, two philanthropic and distinguished members of the Society of Friends, at that time on a visit at Copenhagen. The views and memorials which were thus presented to the king were received with courtesy, and with many expressions of personal interest in the object they proposed, but no change was made in the policy of the government. Some mitigation appears to have been allowed of the severe sentences which had been pronounced by the courts, but no disposition was mani-

fested to tolerate the Baptists in the kingdom, and the same measures were still continued for their suppression.

In November, 1841, the two Moensters were liberated from prison, after a confinement of upwards of a year. They were directed to abstain from all further exercise of their ministry — a command which neither of them was willing to obey — and they went forth from their imprisonment only to resume their labors as preachers of the gospel, and to encounter again the same annoyances and restraints from the public authorities. The churches of the mission, however, were constantly becoming larger and more numerous, and the question of toleration, which their members every where raised, had begun to arrest the public attention. Two advocates of distinction at Copenhagen offered their services as counsel to the Moensters, and some of the papers of the city also espoused their cause.

In order to afford encouragement to the persecuted Baptists of Denmark, and also to make still another endeavor to alleviate their condition, the Board in 1842 requested Rev. Professor Hackett of the Newton Theological Institution, at that time in Germany, to repair to Copenhagen and communicate with the church and its pastor, and also again to petition the king. He was accompanied in his mission by Rev. Professor T. J. Conant of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, who went at the request of the Board of the American and Foreign Bible Society. These gentlemen reached Copenhagen in August, and going as they did in behalf of two powerful bodies of American Baptists, they were welcomed by their distressed brethren with the deepest emotions of gratitude and joy. They could not meet with the church in religious worship without violating the laws of the country, but with small companies of its members they often mingled their counsels and sympathies and prayers. They also visited several persons of eminence and station, both as ecclesiastics and civilians, and commended to their sympathies the condition of these unoffending disciples of the mission. The king was at that time absent from the capital, but the Estates were in session, and Messrs.

Hackett and Conant held interviews with many of the members, and stated to them the principles of religious freedom as they are cherished by Christians in the United States. The influence exerted by this deputation, especially when taken in connection with the other agencies which were already in operation, is thought to have proved highly beneficial. These gentlemen also took pains to inform themselves concerning the state of public opinion at Copenhagen, and were gratified to find that it did not in all cases approve the intolerant measures of the government. "Many individuals in public stations, even some clergymen in the establishment, had declared in favor" of tolerating the Baptists; their cause "was advocated in some of the public journals; pamphlets were written and published in their defence, and the popular feeling was beginning to be enlisted in their behalf."*

The only toleration, however, which the Danish king has ever guaranteed is contained in a "Law of Amnesty," as it is termed, which was put forth in December, 1842. This singular document begins by declaring that inasmuch as the Baptists hold doctrines which differ from those of the confession of Augsburg, they cannot be allowed the free exercise of their religious rites in the kingdom. It however grants them permission to establish a separate church in Fredericia, where, upon certain conditions, they may practice all the rites of their worship; and it also allows Baptists in other parts of the country to assemble privately for worship and to administer the Lord's supper, but it forbids the administration of baptism, and requires them to have their children baptized by the parish minister within the age prescribed by the law.

The law of amnesty was undoubtedly intended as a concession on the part of the Danish government, but it was so loaded with restrictions that the toleration which it granted was nearly valueless, and it has been but little regarded by the ministers and the churches to whom it related. They did not confine

*The Report of this Delegation is in the *American Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. xxii, p. 308.

themselves to Fredericia, but continued to hold their persecuted worship in other parts of the kingdom. There they were still subjected to frequent arrests and constant annoyances. The ministers were thrown into prison for administering the ordinances, and their brethren were fined in heavy sums for worshipping in public, or their children were taken by the police to be sprinkled by the parish clergy, and on their refusal to pay the fees they were stripped of their goods. But the religious influence of the mission was constantly extending; the struggle in which these humble disciples were engaged attracted the attention of thoughtful minds in all parts of the kingdom; and while many of the most serious and orthodox of the Lutheran church have sanctioned the measures of the government, a large number of influential persons, who were pledged to no ecclesiastical system, have arrayed themselves on the side of the advocates of religious freedom.

In the year 1845 the church in Copenhagen became distracted by the "heresy of sinless perfection," which is said to have been introduced by the Swedish preachers. It infected, for a time, the greater part of the churches in the kingdom, and both the Moensters were dismissed from the service of the mission in whose behalf they had labored and suffered for many years. In the isolated condition of the Danish churches, surrounded by foes and jealously watched by a persecuting government, they were peculiarly exposed to evil influences. Mr. Oncken and his coadjutors in Germany were forbidden to enter the country, and the English or American Baptists who visited them could meet them only in private circles; and with their brief experience of self-government and self-direction, it is not strange that they were carried away by a doctrine which has often infected the Christian church. The German missionaries, however, did not abandon them; by correspondence with the ministers in Denmark, by interviews which they held with them at Hamburg and at other places out of the kingdom, they endeavored to withdraw them from their heretical views. Nor were these efforts without success. The church at Copenhagen has been

purified of its errors, and its members have returned to more scriptural views of human life and character. Other churches are following the example, and a Danish minister, Mr. Förster, who has long resided in London, has been sent back to his country by an English missionary society, to instruct and counsel his misguided brethren.

The mission in Germany, it has been already intimated, was commenced at a period when the mind of the country was beginning to call in question the authority of creeds and the right of the civil power to enforce the doctrines of the church, and was thus in a measure prepared for the reception of spiritual truth. In this state of things, the missionaries and their earliest followers immediately became the pioneers of religious freedom, and, in the providence of God, were placed in the front of the movement which has since spread itself over all Germany. The mission from its very beginning has been marked by peculiar features. Without any leader sent from the United States, and with comparatively small appropriations from the Board, it has been conducted in all its various operations by ministers who have been raised up among the people it is designed to bless. Their sufferings for conscience' sake have endeared them to the friends of freedom and of Christianity in every land, and their pure and modest characters have gradually dispelled the prejudices with which their doctrines were at first regarded. Their churches were gathered in the midst of persecution and hate, and the members who composed them were men whose faith was fired by a burning zeal. The laymen, scarcely less than their pastors, early commenced of themselves the labors of missionaries among their countrymen, and these labors they have ceaselessly pursued to the present time. In all their journeys, whether of business or of pleasure, in all their intercourse with their fellow men, they have every where asserted the unchartered freedom of the conscience — the inalienable rights of the soul; while at the same time they have sown the precious seeds of heavenly truth in the minds of the people.

By agencies like these, the doctrines of Christianity, as re-

ceived and practiced by Baptists, have been widely disseminated in nearly all the States of Germany, in Denmark and Holland; and the churches of the mission have sprung up in several of the principal capitals and commercial cities, and in a large number of the villages which belong to the extended district lying between the Rhine and the Vistula, and between the capital of Denmark on the north and the capital of Austria on the south. In no one of the missions of the Board — that among the Karens alone excepted — has the growth been so rapid, or the number of converts annually added to the churches so considerable. The spiritual fruits it has borne are of the most gratifying character. Though the members of its churches are generally of humble condition in life and wholly dependent on their daily labor, yet they have evinced a Christian zeal and energy which have gained for them many friends, and called down the favor of Heaven upon the efforts they have made. The larger churches have in many instances contributed to the aid of the smaller, while large sums of money have been received from benevolent individuals in England and America, to aid in erecting houses of worship, or in relieving the distresses of those in prison or in exile. Messrs. Oncken and Lehmann have several times visited England and Scotland to make known the wants of the mission, and have always brought back with them substantial testimonials of the estimation in which it is there held. It has been from the beginning, in an eminent degree, a self-progressive mission; it has been sustained in a great measure by the friends it has gained, and extended solely by the converts its own doctrines have made. Amidst the contempt of ecclesiastics and the persecution of rulers, it has been honored by God as the means of signal blessings to the people, and has raised up in the heart of a powerful nation a band of converts and resolute believers in the simple doctrines of the gospel, who, undaunted by opposition, will still labor to extend among their countrymen and to transmit to other generations the precious faith they have received.

Until within a recent period the annual appropriations of the Board for the support of the mission have never exceeded three thousand dollars. In the summer of 1848, in consequence of the growing interest and the multiplying wants which it presented, the appropriation was raised to four thousand. In addition, however, to frequent donations from private persons both in Great Britain and America, it has received constant aid from the American and Foreign Bible Society and the American Tract Society, and more recently from the American Baptist Publication Society. The appropriations of each of these societies for this mission have been exceedingly liberal; those of the Bible Society especially have in some years been nearly equal to the amount annually appropriated by the Board itself. Its origin and its entire progress have thus far been connected with the labors of Mr. Oncken, whose generous struggles for religious freedom and unwearied efforts to propagate the gospel among his countrymen, while they have made him the victim alike of ecclesiastical and of civil tyranny, have also made his name and character familiar to the Christian public of our own and other lands.

Beneath the favor which Heaven has bestowed upon his labors and those of his coadjutors, the mission has constantly advanced, even in the darkest days of persecution and distress. Its baptized disciples now number more than two thousand, and its churches have gradually increased to fifty, and most of them are supplied with pastors and organized into associations for mutual sympathy and encouragement. Though embracing but few persons who possess either wealth or social influence, they are characterized by the same religious activity and benevolent enterprise which mark the churches of our own land. They have struggled long and suffered much in maintaining their sentiments amidst the opposition of powerful foes, but it is believed that in all the States of Germany, if not in Denmark, they have at length achieved a permanent triumph, and may henceforth continue their worship and propagate their doctrines without molestation from the government. The latest communi-

cations from the missionaries represent the whole land as now open to their labors, and every where inviting them to enter in and reap the harvests already ripening for the sickle. Private Christians and agents of the mission are actively engaged in distributing copies of the Bible and tracts in every part of the country, and preparations are making for gathering new churches in regions over which baptized believers are widely scattered, and also for sending additional missionaries to preach the gospel in the empire of Austria and in Hungary.

The popular struggle which has recently passed over Europe has in Germany, far more than in France, been directed to the redress of actual grievances and the attainment of substantial rights. It was there not an insurrection against monarchy but against despotism, and its aim was not to annihilate the government, but to restrict its authority and make it responsible to the people. Hence its results, though they are less brilliant and dazzling than those which have been achieved in France, are likely to be productive of no less enduring benefit to the interests of society. In every attempt at reform, religious freedom, the noblest prerogative of humanity, was distinctly proposed among the foremost of the ends to be secured. In the free city of Hamburg, in the kingdom of Prussia, and in others of the German States, religious freedom is now guaranteed in the constitutions which have been established, and it has even been provided for in the fundamental law which binds together the confederate empire of Germany. The great social movement, of which the mission was one of the earliest pioneers, is likely to prove in every way most auspicious to the progress of evangelical truth. It has changed the policy of governments and broken the fetters of ecclesiastical tyranny; it has in a great measure emancipated the people from the spiritual bondage of their national churches, and in the place of vain traditions and powerless ceremonies hitherto prescribed by law, it has opened to them the Bible for their guidance on the road to Heaven. Results like these, aside from all the civil triumphs with which it has been connected, give to this

movement a high religious importance, and render it worthy to be styled in history a *second reformation*.

Beneath the auspices which have thus arisen, the members of the mission are preparing to extend their labors to still wider spheres, and to prosecute them with renewed vigor and zeal. With this view they have recently held in the city of Hamburg a convention of delegates from the churches which are scattered over the German States. The convention was composed of sixty members, and its object was to effect a more perfect union of the churches and to secure a more efficient organization of the mission. The delegates assembled on the 18th of January of the present year, and continued in session eight days, during which they deliberated fully upon all the interests and features of their new condition as a Christian denomination, and adopted a declaration of their faith and modes of worship which was to be published to the people of Germany. The prospects of the mission are now of the most gratifying and inviting character. In every district from which delegates came to the meeting at Hamburg, it is received with increasing favor and is requiring the services of additional laborers. Multitudes of minds, especially among the humbler classes of the population, are dissatisfied with the lifeless faith taught them in the national churches, and are eagerly turning to the proclamations of a more spiritual religion which are made by the preachers attached to the mission.

By the agencies which have been thus put in operation a new religious spirit is awakening among the common people of the country, and the simple truths of the Bible are now addressing themselves especially to those classes of society among which the greatest changes in the social and moral sentiments of a nation are found most frequently to commence. From the workings of this spirit and the power of these truths we may anticipate results of no common importance to the interests of Germany,—not, it may be, in the philosophy which is taught in the schools or in the theology which is preached in the churches, but in the piety which reigns in the hearts of the people.

MISSION IN GREECE.

CHAPTER XXII.

COMMENCED in 1836. — Messrs. Pasco and Love at Patras. — Policy of the Greek Church respecting the Scriptures. — Appointment of Mrs. Dickson. — Return of Mr. Pasco. — Mr. Love removes to Corfu. — Baptism of Apostolos. — Arrival of Rev. Mr. Buel. — Tumult on St. Speridion's day. — Other Baptisms at Corfu. — Popular violence at Patras. — Mr. Love obliged to return to the United States. — Labors of Mr. Buel at Piræus. — Arrival of Rev. Mr. Arnold at Corfu. — He preaches in English. — Slow progress of the Mission. — Evils with which it has to contend. — Labors of Mr. Arnold. — Prosecution of Mr. Buel at Piræus. — General Aspect of the Mission.

IN pursuing the subjects of our narrative from the nations of Western Europe to the storied shores of Greece, we find ourselves still beneath the shadow of a national church, which holds in its keeping the consciences of its members, and wields the civil sword for the suppression of heresy. The labor of the missionary is still a struggle for religious freedom, and the hopes of the Christian philanthropist are even more thickly clouded with apprehension and doubt. We are in the land of old renown, decked with the monuments of art, and covered with sepulchres of the mighty dead, — the land in which the doctrines of the Cross were early preached by apostles and fathers, yet where genius and letters have become nearly extinct, and where Christianity has been corrupted by vain traditions and idolatrous superstitions. The emblems of the faith which was preached with apostolic fervor in its ancient cities still remain, but the faith itself has died away — the temples of Chris-

tian worship still stand on their original sites, but the candlestick has been removed from their altars, and their light has been extinguished for ages.

Modern Greece is now divided into two separate States, the independent kingdom of Greece, and the Ionian Republic which embraces the islands of the Ionian sea, and is attached by a kind of colonial relationship to the British empire. The former is governed by a constitutional monarchy, and the latter is a dependent sovereignty, of which the head is a Lord High Commissioner appointed by Great Britain.

The mission in Greece was commenced in 1836 by the appointment of Messrs. Cephas Pasco and Horace T. Love as missionaries to that country. They were ordained in September, and in the following month they sailed from Boston for Patras, where they arrived in December of the same year. The instructions which they received from the Board left to their own selection the place at which the operations of the mission should be commenced. They first fixed their residence at Patras, a town of considerable importance in the kingdom of Greece, situated at the northern extremity of the Peloponnesus, and containing about seven thousand inhabitants. Their first work was to acquire the language, and to inform themselves concerning the opportunities for propagating the gospel in the country to which they had come. While thus engaged, on finding that there were in Patras but two schools, and those designed exclusively for boys, they made application to the government for leave to open a school for both sexes, which, under certain restrictions, was readily granted. The school was opened in May, 1837, and soon contained forty scholars. In addition to the instruction of their pupils and the study of the language, the missionaries found means to circulate copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts among the people. These were readily furnished in great numbers by the missionaries of the American Board who were stationed near them; and, though they were required to report to the government a list

of the works thus circulated, they yet contrived to scatter them widely abroad through the town and the adjacent country.*

The Greek church, though tenacious of her ancient orthodoxy, her numerous sacraments, and her apostolical priesthood, yet wholly refuses to give to her members the Scriptures in a tongue which they can read. The only versions of the Bible which she sanctions are in the language of a former age, and the only prayers which she admits in her ritual are unintelligible save to the learned few. The Scriptures had been translated into modern Greek by several different hands, but their circulation had been exceedingly restricted, and the attempts which the newly-arrived missionaries now made to extend it were sure to awaken the jealousy of the rulers of the church. The Holy Synod early manifested its opposition, and the Patriarch at length issued a decree prohibiting the reading of the new Scriptures, and commanding that copies of them should be burned wherever they were found. The decree, however, was but little regarded. A few priests attempted to execute it, but the attempt excited universal indignation, and served only to stimulate the curiosity of the people to read for themselves.

In the autumn of 1838 the missionaries had acquired the language, but had not yet decided upon a place in which the mission should be permanently planted. Mr. Love made a tour of observation to different cities in Greece, Turkey, and the Ionian Republic, and obtained important information concerning the respective advantages of these several districts. It was at length determined that one of the missionaries should repair to Zante, one of the Ionian Islands, and that the other should remain at Patras. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the opposition

*The copies of the Scriptures which were circulated by the missionaries were subsequently furnished by the American Bible Society, and the tracts by the American Tract Society. The appropriations of the Tract Society for the supply of the various missions amount in all to \$55,880.

The missions have also received valuable aid from the American Sunday School Union and the American Baptist Publication Society, whose publications have been furnished in great numbers for the use of the missionaries.

of the ecclesiastical authorities, the distribution of the Scriptures in modern Greek was vigorously prosecuted, and the missionaries had the satisfaction of seeing the New Testament introduced as a reading book into the schools of the town, and of daily receiving requests from distant places for copies of the Scriptures, or of religious books. These were generally sold, instead of being given away, and were undoubtedly on this account more valued by those who received them. The number of copies of the Greek Bible thus circulated in the year was one thousand of the Old Testament, and fifteen hundred of the New, besides many in other languages than the Greek.

In July, 1839, Mrs. Harriet E. Dickson was appointed a teacher in the mission, and came to reside at Patras. She was a Scottish lady of education, who with her husband, now deceased, had been connected with the government school in the island of Corfu. She was familiar with the language of the country, and prepared immediately to enter upon the duties of her new station. In the autumn of the same year Mr. Pasco, finding his constitution enfeebled by the climate of the country, was obliged to return with his family to the United States. In consequence of his departure the design of planting a branch of the mission at Zante was of necessity abandoned.

The prospects of the station at Patras were now deemed highly encouraging. The views of the gospel which had been put forth by the missionaries, though strongly opposed, were evidently gaining ground and making an obvious impression upon the popular mind. The climate of the place, however, was unhealthy, and was proving specially deleterious to the constitution of Mr. Love. For many months he was obliged to suspend his labors, and after repeated trials he became satisfied that he could not safely resume them at Patras. Accordingly, in April, 1840, he removed with his family to the island of Corfu, which soon became the principal seat of the mission. This island is the capital of the Ionian Republic, and contains a population of about twenty-five thousand, embracing along with Greeks nearly ten thousand Italians, English, and Jews.

The health of the missionary, though better than at Patras, was still inadequate to the labors of his station, and he was able for some time to do little more than preach to an English congregation, and direct the work of a Greek assistant who had become attached to the mission. In August, 1840, he administered for the first time the ordinance of baptism to a Greek convert. The spectacle arrested the attention of the people, and was spoken of throughout the island; for the rite was performed in the mode which has always been adhered to in the Greek church. The subject of this baptism had long been associated with the missionaries, and by them had been thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. His name was Apostolos. He was appointed to resume the station at Patras, where he labored among his countrymen for many years with commendable assiduity and Christian zeal. The mission, though occupying two separate stations, was yet sadly weakened by the sickness and departure of its members; but in the summer of 1841 its prospects were for a time brightened by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Buel as missionaries, and the return of Mrs. Dickson, who had been absent for a year with her friends in Scotland.

The missionaries were prosecuting their accustomed labors with many encouraging indications, — the ladies as teachers of the schools, and Messrs. Love and Buel as preachers, the former in Greek and the latter in English, — when an event occurred which spread alarm and confusion through the mission, and for a time proved a serious interruption to its operations. It was on the day preceding Christmas in 1841 — the feast of St. Speridion — the greatest religious festival of the year. Mr. Buel, as was his custom in his walks through the town, had taken with him a bundle of tracts, and on approaching the church dedicated to the saint began to distribute them among the crowd that was there assembled. The anger of the multitude seems to have been excited by some unexplained incidents, which, acting upon the fiery temperament of the Greeks, immediately impelled them to insult him with opprobrious words and

at length to assault him with open violence. He fled for refuge to his own house, whither he was followed by the mob, who broke into the house, smashed the windows and doors, and destroyed in their fury the Bibles, tracts, and books of every description which they found within. Mr. Buel and the ladies of the mission were rescued from the imminent perils to which they were exposed by the timely arrival of an officer from the British garrison, who, at the head of his troops, conducted them in safety to the citadel. The affair led to still more painful consequences; for a few days afterwards, in the midst of the excited feeling still subsisting between the Greeks and English, a collision took place between some soldiers and the populace, which was not ended without the sacrifice of several lives.

On inquiring into the occasion of the original tumult it was found that it had been reported that Mr. Buel had distributed tracts against the favorite Saint Speridion, and had also charged the people with idolatry in assembling to worship his image. The report, however, was proved to be entirely false, and the missionary was fully exculpated by the Lord High Commissioner and other British officers who were conversant with the affair. But the excited feeling of the Greeks was still very strong, and it was deemed prudent that Mr. Buel should withdraw from Corfu. He accordingly took passage in a vessel kindly provided for him by the commissioner, and sailed first to Patras and afterwards to Malta, where he continued to reside with his family for nearly two years.

The hostility of the people of Corfu seems not to have extended to the other members of the mission, and they were soon able to resume their accustomed labors. Mr. Love had for some time been engaged in the preparation of tracts, and the translation of books for schools and for popular reading. He had also obtained permission from the Commissioner of Instruction for the Ionian islands, to furnish copies of the Scriptures and other valuable works, for the use of the schools of the republic. A similar undertaking was commenced by him during his residence at Patras, for the schools of the kingdom of Greece, and

it was now resumed, and successfully carried forward by Apostolos, who devoted himself, in his new station, to the improvement of his countrymen. He was also assiduous in preaching the gospel, and several Greeks who attended his instructions, seemed to be converted to the faith which he taught. Two of them, John and Kyriakes, who had for several months given evidence of genuine piety, repaired to Corfu in order to be baptized by Mr. Love, who was preparing to leave the country on account of his declining health. They were baptized by the missionary on the 4th of December, 1842, and on the following day started with Apostolos on their return to Patras. Some injurious suspicions, however, having been excited concerning them and the object of their visit to Corfu, they were assailed on their arrival by the rabble, who followed them to their houses, shouting "Away with the pharmasonæ! (free masons). Away with the antichrists!" On the following day the mob again collected near their dwellings, threatening them with violence, and charging Apostolos with turning the people into Americans, and breaking down their religion. They were protected by the police, but deemed it prudent to withdraw for a time from Patras, and the mission there was in consequence entirely broken up. Apostolos took passage to Piræus and Athens, where he immediately commenced such labors as his own circumstances and the political excitements which then existed in the kingdom would permit.

The baptism at Corfu was the last missionary service which Mr. Love was able to perform in Greece. His health had long been declining, and he had already made arrangements to return to the United States. He sailed a few days afterwards, and arrived at New York early in the spring of 1843; and after waiting for upwards of two years, in the hope of a restoration of health and a return to Greece, he at length reluctantly withdrew from the service of the Board.

The kingdom of Greece, long distracted by violent parties, was now on the eve of a revolution, the object of which was to secure from the king a new constitution and the guaranty of

certain rights which had hitherto remained unsettled. The revolution was effected in September, 1843, and the new constitution which was established was deemed by the friends of the mission to be favorable to the interests of religious freedom. Its first article, however, while it freely grants toleration to the rites of every kind of worship, expressly forbids "proselytism and every other interference with the prevailing religion," — a provision which virtually annuls that which precedes it, and indirectly clothes the magistrate with almost unlimited authority to repress every attempt to introduce a purer faith. Soon after its promulgation Mr. Buel, who had long been at Malta waiting the progress of events, removed with his family to Piræus and Athens, where Apostolos, who now returned to private pursuits, had been residing for several months. His labors for the first six months of his residence here were devoted to the preparation of several works for schools and for popular reading, and especially to the revision of a translation which had already been made of the abridgment of "Wayland's Elements of Moral Science," — a work undertaken some years before, at the suggestion of Mr. Love, by Dr. Maniakes, a distinguished Greek scholar and a friend of the mission. The revision being completed, an edition of two thousand copies was published early in the following year.* This valuable treatise on the principles of ethics, which had already been widely circulated in this country, was received with unexpected favor in Greece, not only by friends of the mission, but by scholars, professors in the university and teachers, and even by many of the ecclesiastics themselves. In addition to the use made of it by the missionaries, it has since been introduced into many of the gymnasia and Hellenic schools both in Greece Proper and in the Ionian Republic, and read by many of the educated men of the country. Other works — the publications of the American Tract Society or of the Sunday School Union — were also translated and published under the direction of Mr. Buel and several attempts

* The expenses of the edition were defrayed by a special contribution.

were made to have an improved version of the Scriptures prepared for general circulation.*

The station at Corfu after the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Love was occupied alone by Mrs. Dickson, who still maintained the school of which she had been for some time in charge. In February, 1844, she was joined by Rev. A. N. Arnold, Mrs. Arnold and Miss S. E. Waldo, who had been appointed missionaries in the preceding autumn. The ladies immediately engaged with Mrs. Dickson in the charge of the school, and soon after in some of the government schools of the island, and Mr. Arnold, while pursuing the study of modern Greek, commenced preaching in English to a congregation composed principally of soldiers belonging to the garrison. His labors here were attended with valuable and encouraging results; in the course of the summer after they were commenced, he baptized three members of one of the regiments, and, at a later period, others received the same sacred ordinance. Rev. Mr. Lowndes, who had long resided at Corfu as the agent of several philanthropic societies in England, and who had also been connected with the commission for public instruction in the republic, at this time removed to Athens, and many of the philanthropic labors and offices which he thus left were assumed by Mr. Arnold. He was also soon able to commence a meeting for reading the Scriptures in Greek, which he designed should at length grow into a regular service of preaching and public worship in the same language. In accomplishing this, however, he was subjected to delays, and encountered hinderances which he did not anticipate, and was obliged still longer to confine himself to preaching in English, and to such incidental labors for the promotion of the gospel as he was enabled to perform. The mission, considered with reference to its original design of benefiting the Greeks, seemed now almost at a stand, and the troubled affairs and threatened changes of the country raised many doubts in the minds of its friends respecting the desirableness of its continuance.

* The version of Professor Bambas Mr. Buel hoped to induce the author to
-d in some essential points.

In these circumstances, united as they were with the then embarrassed condition of the treasury, the Board at its meeting in Providence, in May, 1845, adopted a resolution authorizing the acting Board to discontinue the mission so soon as it might seem to them expedient. In the correspondence, however, which was opened with the missionaries upon the subject, neither Mr. Arnold nor Mr. Buel was willing to advise the extinction of the mission; the former, though regarding Corfu as an unfavorable station for exerting an influence upon the Greeks, was yet of the opinion that the people were accessible to the preacher of the gospel, while the latter, at Athens and Piræus, found many arguments for its continuance in the results which he witnessed around him, and in the prospects which seemed to be opening before him. It was accordingly determined to give the missionaries, agreeably to their own solicitation, the opportunity of making a still further trial before the question should be finally decided.

In this uncertain condition, with the question of its future policy and even of its permanent existence still unsettled, the mission has continued to the present time, passing through the ordinary vicissitudes incident to its situation. The labors of the missionaries have been prosecuted with unremitting zeal, and have produced many valuable results; yet the hopes which were entertained alike by them and by the managers at home have been but partially realized. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Arnold commenced preaching in Greek to a small congregation, which has usually embraced from thirty to forty hearers. The English services have also been continued; but in the changes which are constantly occurring among the English population of Corfu, and especially among the soldiers of the garrison, the congregation has often been greatly reduced. The missionary school, however, under the charge of Mrs. Dickson, has constantly prospered. It has been well attended and has received many tokens of interest from individuals and societies, both in this country and Great Britain, especially from a society of ladies in Edinburg. The mixed population of

Corfu, the dependent condition of the Ionian Republic, and the separation which is slowly going on between it and the kingdom of Greece, combine to render the mission there comparatively powerless over the Greek population. Many incidental results of considerable importance it no doubt accomplishes and will continue to accomplish; but the great objects had in view in its establishment can never be reached by any agencies, however judicious or well directed, that have their origin in the Ionian Republic, and especially in Corfu.

If from the republic we turn to the kingdom of Greece we find the mission in many respects more advantageously situated. It is there planted among a homogeneous people, who have a far stronger feeling of nationality, who boast their independence of every foreign power, and who have a press, a literature, and civil institutions all their own. The kingdom too comprises most of the spots celebrated in the history alike of ancient and of modern Greece, and the cities which have exerted the controlling sway over the Grecian people from the days of Demosthenes and Pericles. Hence it is that every question which is raised and every enterprise which is undertaken here assumes an importance and awakens an interest which it could not possess if it originated in either of the seven islands. There is however, it must be admitted, one obstacle to be encountered which does not exist to the same extent in the republic. This is found in the ecclesiastical establishment of the country, — styled in the constitution of 1843, the *Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ*. In a country in which the church controls the civil power, religious freedom, however guarantied in the words of the constitution, can exist only in name; and the treatment which both our own and other American missionaries have experienced in Greece plainly shows the readiness with which the government lends itself to the priesthood in suppressing the Protestant faith according to the forms of law.

The legalized persecutions which were visited upon Rev. Dr. King, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners at Athens, have awakened the sympathy and the indignation

of the Protestant world, and have well-nigh broken up the mission with which he was connected. Our own mission at Piræus was in the autumn of 1847 threatened with a similar fate. Mrs. Buel and Miss Waldo had been teaching a small school in that city, while Mr. Buel, in connection with other labors, had held a meeting in his own house on the Sabbath, at which he sometimes preached and always gave instructions in the Bible. These meetings the priests and magistrates determined to suppress, and the Demarch of Piræus sent to Mr. Buel an order requiring him to dismiss "the school illegally kept in his house," on pain of the penalty provided in the penal code for teaching without a license. The order was complied with and the school was dismissed, but the Bible class and the religious teaching on Sunday, the object at which the order was aimed, went on as usual. A few weeks afterwards he was summoned to appear before the Court of Magistrates of Piræus and answer to the charge of having "assumed teachers' duties without the requisite permission, of having collected children of citizens on feast-days and Sundays and taught them the sacred Scriptures, and of having supplied them with books on affairs contemplated in article 530 of the penal code." The question was whether the Sunday exercises were an assumption of teachers' duties, and the obvious intention of the prosecution was to suppress the Protestant faith as held and expounded by Mr. Buel. The Court at Piræus decided that he had violated the law, and imposed on him a fine of fifty drachmas, which, however, was the smallest sum allowed by the statute relating to the offence. The case was immediately carried to a higher tribunal, and was ably argued before the Court of Appeals at Athens on two separate grounds, — first, that the act alleged was not satisfactorily proved, and second, that even if it were proved it was not a violation of the article of the penal code. The decision of the Court was made to rest wholly upon the first ground, and upon this alone they reversed the sentence of the Court below, and acquitted the missionary of the charge which had been brought against him, — a result which was deemed

both by him and his opponents a triumphant vindication of the rights which he had maintained.

By this decision of the Court at Athens the mission was saved from the extinction which threatened it in the kingdom of Greece. Its progress since that period has not been marked by important incidents, and the religious teachings of Mr. Buel have continued without interruption from the magistrates, though they have been attended by but few of the Greeks. The school at Piræus has not been resumed, and Miss Waldo returned to Corfu, where she was associated with Mrs. Dickson until August, 1848, when she went to reside in Zante.*

The work of preaching in Greek requires long preparation and great familiarity with the language. Without this discourse of a foreigner becomes offensive to the ear of a people so wedded to harmony as the Greeks have always been. From this cause public preaching was but lately commenced by the present members of the mission; and since its commencement it has of necessity been exceedingly limited at each of the stations, from the fact that but few have been disposed to join the congregations which assembled for the purpose. It is on this account, probably, that the mission has accomplished so few visible results. In other and minor departments of labor it has been less restricted, and has undoubtedly performed an important part in effecting the changes of opinion and feeling which have been gradually taking place in Greece. Its schools have been well attended, the books which it has introduced into the country have been suited to the wants of the people, and the copies of the Old and New Testament which it has scattered in the cities and villages, both of the kingdom and the republic, cannot fail to accomplish valuable results. The spirit of popular freedom which has manifested itself in the revolutions of Western Europe has reached the shores of Greece, — those storied shores which were once its chosen dwelling-place. It is

* Miss Waldo was at this time married to Mr. York, a resident of the island of Zante.

evidently liberalizing the sentiments of the people, and, we may hope, gradually undermining the despotism of the Greek church, which has hitherto opposed the most formidable barriers to the spread of evangelical truth. The missionaries, though gathering but few fruits of their labors even in fields which have given the most abundant promise, are not discouraged. They now ask of the Board to be permitted still to continue their stations, and, amid the new influences which are beginning to prevail in Greece, still to toil on for the spiritual elevation of a race whose ancient sires were the early teachers of mankind.

MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL View of these Missions.—Earliest Missionaries to the Indians.—Appointment of Rev. Isaac McCoy.—Station at Carey for the Putawatomies: at Thomas for the Ottawas.—Changes in these Tribes.—Care of the Government of the United States for the Indian Race.—Mission among the Ojibwas: its Progress and Results.—Mission among the Indians of New York.—Commencement of the Mission among the Cherokees.—Appointment of Messrs. Posey and Jones.—Stations at Valley Towns and at Tinsawatee.—Civilization of the Cherokees: Emigration of a part of them beyond the Mississippi.—Mission among the Creeks: their Emigration.—Continuance and Close of the Creek Mission.

THE missions of the Convention among the Indians of North America have been widely scattered over the extended territories that were but lately held in undisputed possession by these sons of the forest. To describe them in full and to narrate the progress of each of their several stations, with the results which they have accomplished, would require a volume by itself. In the few remaining pages of this general narrative it is possible to present only a brief sketch of their origin and their most important changes, without entering upon the details of their history or attempting to discuss the questions connected with their progress and destiny. For this purpose they may be grouped in two distinct classes,—the first embracing the missions which have been planted among the tribes scattered along the northern and western frontiers of the United States, from New York to Wisconsin; and the second embracing those which were established in the south among the Indians of North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. In the changes which have taken

place in the fortunes of the aboriginal race most of the missions of both these classes, within a recent period, have been brought together in the territory west of the Mississippi, which is now the only exclusive home of these reduced and subjugated tribes.

At the first triennial meeting of the Convention, which was held at Philadelphia in 1817, the original constitution was amended so as to enable the Board to appropriate a part of their funds to the purposes of domestic missions. At the same meeting also several communications were presented concerning the condition and wants of the Indians in the Southern and Western States and Territories. In pursuance of the authority granted them in the new provisions of the constitution, the Board immediately appointed Messrs. John M. Peck and James E. Welch as domestic missionaries, and stationed them at St. Louis, directing them to preach to the destitute population of that region, and also to neglect no opportunity to promote the benefit of the Indians of the West. At nearly the same time Rev. James A. Ranaldson of New Orleans was appointed to visit certain southern tribes that dwelt near that city, and to establish schools and religious worship for their benefit. These missionaries however soon found themselves entirely occupied with preaching in the destitute American settlements that belonged to their respective districts, and were on this account able to execute the instructions of the Board relating to the Indians only in the most imperfect manner.

In the autumn of 1817 Rev. Isaac McCoy received his appointment from the Board as their first missionary exclusively to the Indian race. He had been conversant with the habits and modes of life of the American aborigines, and had often had occasion to observe their character and condition, especially among the tribes of the North and the West. In accordance with the instructions he received, he repaired early in the following spring to Fort Wayne, on the banks of the Wabash, in Indiana, — at that time one of the farthest outposts of western civilization. In the unbroken prairies which then stretched around this solitary fortress dwelt the several tribes of Miamies,

Kickapoos, Putawatomes, and Ottawas, — speaking substantially a common language, and presenting alike the same aspect of unmitigated barbarism. He found the Indians full of prejudices against white men, and entirely averse to their religion, their customs and all their modes of life. He was obliged to conciliate their good will and secure their confidence by slow and careful steps; but by the end of the year he had so far succeeded as to obtain nine or ten native children to be boarded and instructed in his family. The school which was thus commenced gradually increased till in 1820 it contained forty-eight pupils, and had become instrumental in establishing numerous friendly relations between the missionary and the chiefs and leading men of the tribes.

In consequence of the changes that took place in the condition of these tribes after the treaty of Chicago, in 1821, it became necessary to move the station two hundred miles westward, to the banks of the St. Josephs, upon the borders of Michigan. The removal was accomplished in the autumn of 1822, with much difficulty across the then untravelled wilderness, and the new station, situated a hundred miles from the nearest settlement of white men, received the name of *Carey*, in honor of the distinguished missionary at Serampore. Two assistants were at this time added to the mission, and the school soon became the centre of a little community in which agriculture and the arts of civilization were beginning to be practiced, and the influences of Christianity to be deeply felt. The church which had been formed in the mission family at Fort Wayne now embraced thirty or forty members, many of whom were Indians, and its exercises of public worship on the Sabbath often attracted large companies of natives from the adjacent settlements. These results however were confined almost exclusively to the Putawatomes.

The Ottawas occupied a district farther north, and had hitherto steadily opposed the establishment of a mission among them. Mr. McCoy, and Mr. Polk, another member of the station at Carey, however, had made several visits to them, and at

length received from them two pupils for the school, and a request from their chief, Noonday, that a missionary might be sent to their settlements near the Grand river. The chief offered to give a tract of six or seven hundred acres of land to the mission, in case one could be established among his people. The missionaries, thus invited, determined to commence a small station on the Grand river, which they were in turn occasionally to visit and superintend until some one could be appointed by the Board to take it in charge. The decision was hailed with joy by the chiefs and people of the Ottawas, who seem suddenly to have laid aside their prejudices and to have conceived a strong desire for instruction. This second station was called *Thomas*, also in honor of an English missionary in the East. It was conducted for upwards of a year by the members of the mission at Carey, when, in the autumn of 1826, on the arrival of additional missionaries, Mr. McCoy temporarily removed his family and some of the assistants to Thomas, and immediately commenced a school and other agencies for the instruction and improvement of the natives. In the following summer he returned to Carey, and the new station was placed under the permanent charge of Rev. Leonard Slater, and one or two assistants who had been associated with Mr. McCoy.

But notwithstanding the favorable auspices with which the mission at Carey was commenced, it soon reached a stationary condition. The Putawatomes were wretchedly poor, and as the white settlements were every year encroaching upon their territory, they were constantly exposed, in common with most of the neighboring tribes, to the corrupting influences exerted upon them by unprincipled traders and settlers. Their lands were at length ceded to the United States, with the exception of a tract ten miles square, which lay around the mission settlement. Confined within this narrow domain, and with the prospect before them of a distant removal even from their present possessions, they evinced less disposition to adopt habits of industry or to learn the arts of civilized life. In these circumstances, most of the missionaries in 1829 withdrew from the

station at Carey and settled at Thomas, leaving, however, Rev. Mr. Simerwell, one of their number, to conduct the school and to preach to the church among the Putawatomies.

Among the Ottawas the prospect was for a long time more encouraging. Their chiefs were persons of higher intelligence, and, what was of greater importance, they were further removed from the settlements of white men, and on this account less exposed to evil influences and more likely to retain the lands which they occupied. In the summer of 1830 the station comprised five missionaries, a superintendent of the farm and six female assistants, all of whom were engaged in the work of instructing the Indians who were settled around them in the doctrines of Christianity and in the rudiments of useful knowledge. Such, however, was the organization of the settlement at this time, that far too little was done for bringing its members under immediate religious influence, and there was danger of its coming to be regarded by the natives merely as a civil community, in which they were to learn only the arts of social life. This impression the missionaries soon took pains to remove, and began to make the instructions of the school, the services of the Sabbath, and the daily religious worship more serious and earnest; and as some of them were now masters of the language, they were able to appeal more directly to the consciences of those whom they taught. These measures were productive of beneficial results. The truths of the gospel entered into the minds of the Indians, and their characters began perceptibly to improve, and in 1832 several of them gave evidence of Christian faith and were received into the church by baptism. Among these earliest converts was Noonday, the chief who had first invited the missionaries to his tribe. The influence which he afterwards exerted over his people was in every way salutary, and such as became a Christian chief. He persuaded them to industry, temperance, and the observance of the Sabbath, and united a large number of them in an association for preventing the sale of whiskey and for promoting the morals of the settlements.

From this period every year witnessed some improvement in the social condition of the tribe, and some accessions to the church. Several new missionaries were added to the station, new schools were opened, and eight promising Indian youths were sent to the academy at Hamilton, N. Y., in order to receive a fuller education than could be furnished them at the mission. But the rapid extension of the white population soon began to check these improvements, and to subject the Ottawas to the annoyances and pernicious influences beneath which the neighboring tribes had long been slowly wasting away. A large portion of their territory near Grand river was already covered with English settlements, and in 1836 its jurisdiction was ceded to the United States, and the mission was removed, with the Indians who were connected with it, to Richland, about fifty miles south of Thomas. Here, through many changes, Mr. Slater has since continued to reside. The larger portion of the Ottawas long ago removed from the territory of Michigan; but a small settlement still remains, in the midst of which the missionary has been engaged in his often wearisome and discouraging efforts for the benefit of this now wasted and well-nigh exterminated people.

The condition and destiny of the Indian race within the territories of the United States early engaged the attention of the government, and though it has at different periods assumed obligations which it subsequently failed to fulfil, yet there never has been a period in which either the Congress or the Executive of the republic could be justly charged with indifference to the fate of these ancient occupants of the continent. Different plans were recommended to Congress by successive Presidents, and various schemes for their improvement were devised and advocated by philanthropic citizens in different parts of the country. In most of the treaties which were made with their several tribes large sums of money were granted them for the support of schools, and for their improvement in agriculture and the useful arts, and in the year 1819 a bill passed both houses of Congress, placing at the disposal of the President an annual

appropriation of \$10,000 for their instruction and civilization. For several years preceding the moneys which were appropriated by the government for the benefit of particular tribes had been disbursed mainly through the agency of the various Missionary Boards of the country, and it was now decided by the President that the funds derived from the new appropriation should be expended in the same manner. The stations at Carey and at Thomas had from the beginning been nearly supported by sums paid for this purpose to the Putawatomes and the Ottawas, and in 1825 the Board began to receive a portion of the annual appropriation, which, varying with the amount of service rendered, has been regularly continued to the present time. The sums which have been thus received from the government of the United States amount in all to \$104,684, and have constituted an important aid in supporting the mission schools among the Indian tribes.

In accordance with what had become the settled policy of the government, the Board was invited by the President to accept the disbursement of funds which were designed for the benefit of the Ojibwas, a tribe numbering about four thousand, and scattered over a wide territory including part of what is now the State of Michigan. They accepted the trust, and in 1828 appointed Rev. Abel Bingham to establish a mission at Sault de Ste. Marie, an ancient French settlement situated about fifteen miles southeast of Lake Superior, and at that time one of the principal trading places of the Ojibwas. A school was commenced with fifty scholars, and Mr. Bingham immediately began to preach in English to the soldiers of the neighboring garrison, and also, with the aid of an interpreter, to the Indians of the settlement. Several female assistants were soon added to the mission, suitable houses were erected for the accommodation of the family and the boarding-school, and a temperance society was formed which received the countenance of the officers of the garrison and of the white population of the town. In November, 1830, a church was constituted, and two persons were baptized; the Sabbath school increased in the number of its

members, and enlisted the active interest of several pious ladies who then resided at the fort. The influence of these agencies and of the faithful preaching of the gospel soon began to be felt in both the English and the Indian congregations. Several individuals in each became decided and active Christians, and a higher morality spread itself over the face of society, showing itself in the better observance of the Sabbath and in the almost universal practice of temperance.

Early in 1832 the attention of the people was specially invited to their religious obligations in a series of public meetings, in which the Presbyterian missionaries also participated. The blessing of Heaven was bestowed upon these endeavors, and a deep and general seriousness pervaded alike the settlement and the garrison. Forty persons were baptized and added to Mr. Bingham's church, of whom eleven were Indians, and a large portion of the others were officers and soldiers of the regiment. Among the persons who became connected with the church at this time were Dr. Edwin James, the surgeon of the fort, Mr. Cameron, who had been an Episcopal missionary in Canada, and Shegud, a chief of the Ojibwas,—the two latter of whom were subsequently assistants in the mission. Dr. James, who had long been stationed among the Ojibwas, had at a previous period translated the New Testament into their language, and also prepared a spelling-book for their schools. The translation having been carefully revised and pronounced worthy by several persons capable of judging of its merits, was printed in 1833 under the supervision of the author at Albany. At this time also Messrs. Meeker and Merrill, missionaries of the Board, spent several months at Sault de Ste. Marie in such duties as they were able to perform. They, however, soon removed,—Mr. Merrill, with his wife and a female assistant, to the Otoes, and Mr. and Mrs. Meeker to the station at Thomas, and afterwards to Shawanoe, in the Indian territory west of the Mississippi.

But this station, like those among the other tribes of the North, soon began to experience fluctuations and reverses.

The wandering habits of the natives, the presence of unprincipled traders and the perpetual temptations arising from the sale of whiskey, clouded the prospects of the mission almost as soon as they opened before it. In 1833 the pious soldiers stationed at the garrison were removed to other frontier posts, and the school was for a time broken up and the Indian congregation on the Sabbath greatly reduced, in consequence of the hostile intrigues of some French Roman Catholic priests who had settled in the neighborhood. Notwithstanding these adverse influences, the members of the mission still continued their labors. The Indian school was soon resumed with nearly its former number of pupils, and the preaching of the gospel and Bible classes on the Sabbath were commenced among the new troops who had arrived at the garrison. Messrs. Bingham and Cameron also made frequent excursions to other native settlements, for the purpose of awakening the interests of the people in the objects, both spiritual and temporal, which the mission was designed to accomplish, and an out-station was commenced at Tikumina bay, about thirty miles from St. Mary's, and placed under the charge of Shegud, the chief who has already been mentioned.

In May, 1837, Mr. Cameron was ordained a minister of the gospel, and went to reside at Michipocoton, an Indian town in Upper Canada, on the northern shores of Lake Superior, where he remained for several months and baptized three natives who gave satisfactory evidence of piety. His visit to this place was repeated in the following season, and in the summer of 1839 he removed from St. Mary's and established himself on the northern shore of the lake. The Indians whom he had baptized were formed into a church, which, with the blessing of God upon a regular ministry of the gospel, soon began to receive accessions, and in 1842 numbered thirty members. Mr. Cameron had been engaged in a new translation of the Gospels into the Ojibwa tongue, and having now completed those of Mark and Luke, he returned to the station at St. Mary's, and the out-station at Michipocoton has since been abandoned. In the

retrenchments which had now become necessary the Board seriously entertained the question of discontinuing the mission among the Ojibwas, and in order more fully to ascertain its condition and prospects, they requested the Foreign Secretary to visit it in the autumn of 1842. The views which he submitted to the managers on his return decided them not to relinquish it, and it accordingly still continues, as before, under the superintendence of Messrs. Bingham and Cameron. Since that period, however, in consequence of the increase of the white population at Sault de Ste. Marie, its importance as a station has been gradually declining, while the station at Tikuamina Bay has become more important; it has now a larger church, and embraces the greater part of the operations of the mission.

In the year 1821 the Board assumed the general care of the mission which had several years before been established by the Hamilton Missionary Society among the Seneca, Tuscarora and Oneida Indians in the western and central counties of New York. These tribes were mere remnants of what they had formerly been; but the first two closely resembled each other in their language, traditions, and customs. The mission among them was at three different stations, and though placed under the general supervision of the Board for the purpose of securing a portion of the allowance made by the government, its immediate management was intrusted to a committee of the New York Baptist State Convention. In 1828, the Indians having been reduced in number, the station among the Oneidas was discontinued, and the other two stations were united in one at Tonawanda, where suitable buildings were erected for the accommodation of the school and the members of the mission. The progress of the station has since that period presented the same general features which mark the other missions among the aborigines of the North. The church at Tonawanda has varied from thirty to sixty members, and the school has usually contained about the same number; while the natives in the neighboring settlements, though becoming fewer with the lapse of every year, have made a slow and fitful progress in civiliza-

tion. In 1839 a church was established among the Tuscaroras, and James Cusick, a chief of the tribe, was ordained and placed over it as its minister. The remnant of this tribe seem disinclined to remove from New York to the Indian territory west of the Mississippi, and the church, numbering about thirty members, still exists under the care of the missionary, Rev. A. Warren ; and two schools also under his superintendence have an average attendance of thirty-five scholars.

The missions of the Board among the Indians of the South have been confined to the Cherokees and the Creeks in the States of North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. That among the Creeks was of short duration, while that among the Cherokees has been from the beginning by far the most interesting and successful of all the missions which have been planted among the aborigines of any portion of the continent. It was established in 1817, at a time when the territory of the tribe embraced a wide tract lying on the borders of the States of North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. The Cherokees at this period, like some other tribes of the South, had developed far higher social capacities and energies, and had made more considerable progress in civilization than any of their brethren in the North. They had maintained an independent national existence, and had lived more widely removed from the settlements of white men, while at the same time they had been induced to adopt many of the customs of civilized life. Nor had they been wholly neglected by Christian philanthropy. Early in the present century they had been visited by Moravian missionaries, and a few years later by agents of the Presbyterian Synod in Tennessee ; and the schools which were thus established had undoubtedly accomplished much for the intellectual and social progress of the nation. They had now a regularly organized civil government, and a code of laws fitted to the protection of person and property, and making special provision for the education of the young.

In January, 1817, a mission of the American Board of Commissioners was commenced among the Cherokees, and in the au-

tumn of the same year Rev. Humphery Posey received his appointment as the first missionary of the Convention to the same people. He soon repaired to their territory and established two or three temporary schools for the instruction of children, but during the succeeding year he was absent from them on a journey of exploration beyond the Mississippi. The mission therefore can hardly be said to have commenced till the spring of 1820, when Mr. Posey, with the necessary assistants, established a station at Valley Towns, on the banks of the Hiwassee river, just within the southern boundary of North Carolina. Eighty acres of land were here enclosed as a mission farm, which was supplied with stock and the necessary implements of agriculture. Buildings were erected, and a school of fifty children was soon commenced in which instructions were daily given in the Scriptures and in useful knowledge and the arts of civilized life.

In 1821 a second station was commenced at Tinsawatee, an Indian settlement about sixty miles south of Valley Towns; at which were settled Mr. Duncan O'Briant and his wife, whose support was derived in part from funds appropriated by the Sarepta Baptist Association in Georgia. In September of the same year Rev. Thomas Roberts was appointed superintendent of the mission, and several missionary teachers and artisans were added to its stations. Preaching was commenced both at Valley Towns and Tinsawatee, and a few of the natives soon gave evidence of having experienced its power, while the general influence of the mission became perceptible in the improvement of its scholars and the social progress of all who were connected with it.

Among the persons who had already joined the station at Valley Towns was Mr. Evan Jones, who with Mrs. Jones had been for several years assiduously devoted to the charge of the schools. In 1825 he was ordained as pastor of the church which had for some time existed at Valley Towns, and in the same year, on the resignation of Rev. Mr. Roberts, was appointed in his place as superintendent of the mission. Under his general oversight and care it continued to prosper, and he had

the happiness of seeing several who had been pupils of the schools, now members of the church and settled around him as heads of Christian families, and pursuing the industry and practising the virtues of well regulated society. In 1826 the civil organization of the nation was altered at a great council convened for the purpose, a new code of laws was adopted, and the Cherokees as a people were evincing a desire for knowledge and a capacity for civilization that could not fail to encourage even the most despairing friends of the Indian race. Their language had already been reduced to an alphabet by George Guess, an uneducated native, who, without any aid, had conceived the idea solely from what he had heard of the "talking leaf" of the white man. Many hymns were composed in the language, which the Cherokees committed to memory and delighted to sing both in their own lodges and at the meetings for public worship; and in 1825 the New Testament was translated and written out according to the alphabet of Guess, by David Brown, then deemed the best educated man in the nation.* The National Council in 1827 procured a printing press, and in the following year the "Cherokee Phoenix" was published, — a weekly newspaper of respectable size and execution, printed both in Cherokee and English, at New Echota, the capital of the nation. It was edited by Elias Boudinot, a native who had been educated at the mission school at Cornwall, Connecticut, and is said to have maintained a character quite equal to the average of contemporary American newspapers. By means of the press copies of the version of the New Testament and the hymns were multiplied for general use, and the weekly appearance of the "Phoenix" was hailed by the nation with gratification and pride, as an evidence of the civilization they had attained.

In accordance with the directions of the Board the arrange-

* This translation was of course exceedingly imperfect. It has since given place to versions executed by the missionaries of our own and of the American Board.

ments connected with the mission farm, which were at first deemed necessary in order to enlist the interest of the Indians, were gradually abandoned, and the missionaries began to devote themselves more exclusively to the work of instructing the natives in the truths of Christianity and leading them to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. This change in the manner of conducting the mission was soon productive of the most beneficial results. The attention of the people was directed especially to the claims of the gospel, and in the course of the year 1829 thirty-seven Cherokees were baptized and added to the church at Valley Towns. The religious awakening which then commenced spread widely through the nation. It was felt at the stations of other missions, and continued for several years to improve the morals and to subdue the hearts of the people. Mr. Jones established several out-stations at which he preached at regular intervals, often to large congregations of natives who came together from all parts of an extended region, and who, with the dress and appearance of civilized men, always exhibited the utmost decorum in the services of public worship. Other churches were thus established, and according to the report which was made to the Board at the close of 1833, the number of communicants connected with the mission was two hundred, three fourths of whom had been added during the three preceding years.

Among the Indian converts of superior intelligence and worth who at this period became connected with the churches of the mission, were three whose names have since become well known as Christian ministers. These were Oganaya, Kaneeka, since called John Wickliffe, and Jesse Bushyhead. The last mentioned had learned Christianity from the teachings of the Bible alone, and apart from all other instructors had embraced the salvation which it offers with an intelligent conviction and earnest faith, which, combined with his own superior understanding, rendered him a Christian of no ordinary stamp. He was baptized by a minister from Tennessee in 1830, and it was not till he had collected a large Christian congregation at Amohee, the

place of his residence, that he became acquainted with the missionaries at Valley Towns. In the spring of 1833 the mission was visited by Hon. Heman Lincoln, the Treasurer of the General Convention, who received the most favorable impressions of its condition and of the influence it was exerting upon the social progress, the morals, and the piety of the people. During his visit John Wickliffe and Jesse Bushyhead were ordained to the Christian ministry, and assigned to different posts in the service of the mission, and for many years they subsequently devoted their best energies to the religious improvement of their brethren.

The station at Tinsawatee still continued under the care of Mr. O'Briant, who in 1829, for the sake of securing a more central position, had removed the school to Hickory Log, about ten miles down the Etowa river. At the two branches of this station there were about eighty families, in which were thirty persons who had been baptized and were members of the church. The plan of removing beyond the Mississippi had some time before been recommended by the government at Washington to the Indians of the several States, and had been already adopted by several of the tribes. In 1831 the Cherokees around Tinsawatee decided to remove, and invited their pastor, Mr. O'Briant, to accompany them. The arrangement was sanctioned by the Board, and in the spring of the following year the Indians were settled in the territory which had been assigned them just beyond the western boundary of Arkansas. Here the mission was reestablished, but it did not prosper. Mr. O'Briant died in 1834, and though his place was supplied by faithful and assiduous laborers, the natives constantly declined in numbers and in civilization amidst the infelicities of an ill-selected location, until, in 1836, the last of the missionaries who remained retired to the mission at Shawanoe.

In connection with these stations of the Board among the Cherokees, it is proper that a brief mention be made of the labors which were also bestowed upon the neighboring tribe of Creeks, at that time settled within the limits of Georgia and

Lewis was sent to the mission which had been thus commenced, and was soon able to organize a church composed of members of his own family and a few others who had been baptized in Alabama. The preaching of Mr. Davis had been productive of good results, and many others gave evidence of genuine piety, and were admitted to the church by baptism. The school which was established contained thirty pupils, and nearly three hundred Creeks were accustomed to attend the preaching of the missionary on the Sabbath. Rude log houses were built both for religious worship and for the accommodation of the schools, and the station received the name of Ebenezer. In the autumn of 1834 it was placed under the care of Rev. David Rollin, who with his family and two assistants went to reside among the Creeks. He increased the number of schools, and with the aid of Mr. Davis, who was now ordained, established new places for preaching and greatly enlarged the sphere of the mission. He introduced hymns in the congregations for public worship, and was able to induce several influential persons to learn to read according to the system of George Guess, which was now in use among most of the Indian tribes. In 1836 a second station had been commenced at Canadian Creek, and the members of the churches in the mission numbered eighty-two, a part of whom were African slaves. The people were still without the New Testament save in English, and Mr. Davis went to reside at Shawanoe in order to aid Mr. Lykins in preparing a version of the Gospel of John and other books in their own tongue.

But the Creeks were still a fierce and barbarous tribe, whose passions were easily inflamed by the evil counsels of selfish and unprincipled white men. Many of their leading chiefs were hostile to the introduction of Christianity among them, and on the arrival of a large body of new emigrants from east of the Mississippi, the nation became distracted with tumults which threatened the safety of the missionaries. Mr. Rollin and his family accordingly withdrew to Shawanoe. He, however, subsequently visited the churches, but the mission was effectually broken up. Since then Rev. Messrs. Kellam and Mason have

Alabama. The attention of the Convention was directed to their condition and wants at the meeting in 1820, by a letter from Governor Rabun of the first-mentioned State, and also by communications from Rev. Jesse Mercer and Rev. Elijah Mosely, proposing the immediate establishment of a mission in the Creek nation. The proposal was received with favor, and in 1822 Rev. Lee Compere, of South Carolina, was appointed a missionary to labor under the supervision of a committee of two associations of neighboring Baptist churches. But the Creeks were far less civilized than the Cherokees, and were fully exposed to influences entirely hostile to their social progress and their reception of Christianity. Their country was overrun with unprincipled traders, who sold to them the destroying fire-water, and taught them all the vices with none of the virtues of civilized men. In addition to this, their passions were constantly excited and their prospects as a people greatly darkened by the troubled relations now existing between them and the government of the United States. They constantly suffered depredations from their white neighbors, for which they knew no redress but retaliation, and they had lately more than once sharpened the tomahawk and raised the war-whoop to avenge the wrongs of the nation. In these circumstances it was not to be expected that a mission among the Creeks would be attended with high success. A school was maintained for several years at Withington, on the borders of Alabama, and two or three of its members and a few other Creeks gave evidence of genuine piety and were baptized; but in 1829, on the removal of a large part of the tribe to the western territory, the school was discontinued, and Mr. Compere withdrew from the service of the Board.

Among the Creeks who at this time emigrated to the West was John Davis, a pious pupil of Mr. Compere, who still cherished an interest in the religious instruction of his passionate and now distracted tribe. In 1830 he received an appointment as a missionary of the Board, and immediately began his work as a Christian preacher; but as he was not ordained none were baptized and no church was formed. In 1832 Rev. David

Lewis was sent to the mission which had been thus commenced, and was soon able to organize a church composed of members of his own family and a few others who had been baptized in Alabama. The preaching of Mr. Davis had been productive of good results, and many others gave evidence of genuine piety, and were admitted to the church by baptism. The school which was established contained thirty pupils, and nearly three hundred Creeks were accustomed to attend the preaching of the missionary on the Sabbath. Rude log houses were built both for religious worship and for the accommodation of the schools, and the station received the name of Ebenezer. In the autumn of 1834 it was placed under the care of Rev. David Rollin, who with his family and two assistants went to reside among the Creeks. He increased the number of schools, and with the aid of Mr. Davis, who was now ordained, established new places for preaching and greatly enlarged the sphere of the mission. He introduced hymns in the congregations for public worship, and was able to induce several influential persons to learn to read according to the system of George Guess, which was now in use among most of the Indian tribes. In 1836 a second station had been commenced at Canadian Creek, and the members of the churches in the mission numbered eighty-two, a part of whom were African slaves. The people were still without the New Testament save in English, and Mr. Davis went to reside at Shawanoe in order to aid Mr. Lykins in preparing a version of the Gospel of John and other books in their own tongue.

But the Creeks were still a fierce and barbarous tribe, whose passions were easily inflamed by the evil counsels of selfish and unprincipled white men. Many of their leading chiefs were hostile to the introduction of Christianity among them, and on the arrival of a large body of new emigrants from east of the Mississippi, the nation became distracted with tumults which threatened the safety of the missionaries. Mr. Rollin and his family accordingly withdrew to Shawanoe. He, however, subsequently visited the churches, but the mission was effectually broken up. Since then Rev. Messrs. Kellam and Mason have

been sent to the Creeks by the Board, and, though each was able to reside among them for a brief period as the teacher of a government school, yet they accomplished but little as missionaries, and early in 1840 Mr. Mason, the last who remained, on his life being threatened by the natives, was obliged to leave the country. The churches, however, were repeatedly visited by members of other missions in the territory, under whose general supervision they continued until the autumn of 1843, when Rev. Eber Tucker, who had been a government teacher among the Choctaws, was appointed missionary to the Creeks. During a residence of nearly two years he baptized more than a hundred of the tribe, and formed another church composed both of Indians and negro slaves, which soon numbered two hundred and twenty members. At the end of this period, however, while the prospects of the mission were unusually inviting, he was obliged to abandon it on account of the sickness of his family. It has since been resumed, and is now continued by the Directors of the American Indian Mission Association.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PLAN of removing the Indians beyond the Mississippi. — Act of Congress in 1830. — Refusal of the Cherokees to remove. — Their removal by Force. — Influence of these Events upon the Mission. — Judicious Conduct of the Missionaries. — Condition of the Mission in the Indian Territory. — Missions among other Tribes in the Territory; their Progress and Results. — Growth of the Mission among the Cherokees. — Their general Progress in Civilization. — Death of Rev. Jesse Bushyhead. — Present Condition of the Cherokee Nation. — Claims of the Indian Race.

In May, 1830, Congress passed the celebrated bill authorizing the removal of the Indians then within the limits of the United States, to the unoccupied territory beyond the Mississippi. Few questions of public policy have ever excited so deep and general an interest in the minds of the American peo-

ple, and none probably have given rise to more eloquent debates within the halls of Congress. The gradual decay of the Indian race in every State of the Union, and the sad but speedy and inevitable extinction which had long been threatening them, had for many years enlisted the warmest sympathies of philanthropic individuals and societies in different parts of the country. Among the various plans which had been devised for their preservation and improvement was that of removing them, with their own consent, to a portion of the western territory that should be set off for the purpose and guaranteed to them as their possession forever. This plan had early been advocated by Rev. Mr. McCoy as the one best fitted to secure them from the destructive influences to which they were exposed in every State east of the Mississippi. It had also been favored by the Board and the Convention, and in the resolutions of these bodies it had been recommended to the government of the United States as a measure of humanity to the Indians. Successive Presidents in their annual messages had urged the subject upon the attention of Congress, and in 1828 an exploring party, of which Mr. McCoy was a member, had been sent to the western territory to examine and mark out a suitable tract for the reception of the tribes that might be willing to emigrate. In the following year Messrs. McCoy* and Lykins were also directed by the Convention to visit the territory, for the special purpose of selecting sites for missions and schools among the tribes that, by special treaty, were about to remove from some of the Western States.

At this period, however, while a large number of the Indians in the North and some in the South were favorable to a removal, serious questions of conflicting jurisdiction had arisen between

* In 1830 Mr. McCoy's official connection with the Board was terminated by his accepting an appointment from the government as Agent of Indian Affairs. He however resided in the territory for many years, and was constantly devoted to the welfare and improvement of the tribes. He was one of the founders of the American Indian Mission Association in 1843, and was its first Corresponding Secretary. He died at Louisville, Ky., in June, 1846.

the Cherokee nation and the State of Georgia, and between other southern States and the Indians that were settled within their limits. The Indians, and especially the Cherokees, claimed to be an independent people, occupying lands which had been repeatedly guarantied to them by solemn treaties bearing the signature of the President of the United States. The States on the contrary denied to them the attributes of sovereignty, and claimed to themselves the jurisdiction of their territory, and were proceeding to reduce it to the operation of their own laws. The Indians threw themselves upon the protection of the national government; the States urged the independent authority of their own legislatures.

In this state of affairs the act of 1830 was passed by both Houses of Congress in spite of the opposition of a powerful minority and the petitions of multitudes of citizens. The act provided for an equitable exchange of lands with the several tribes, for their removal at the public expense, their full indemnification for the losses they might sustain, and for their entire support one year after their arrival in the new territory; — but it neglected to provide for their protection in their present homes, in case they chose to remain. In consequence of this omission their removal became to them a measure of virtual necessity, and its subsequent execution by the troops of the United States often gave rise to acts of compulsion and outrage and to scenes of innocent suffering, which the future historian will blush to record in the annals of his country.

Many of the tribes both in the North and the South were soon induced to accede to the terms which were offered them by the agents of the government, and to remove to districts assigned them in the new territory. The Cherokees, however, persisted in refusing every offer, and expressed their determination to remain upon their present reservations until compelled to abandon them by force. They were now to a considerable extent a civilized people, possessing separate interests and a civil government of their own. They were engaged, like the citizens of the surrounding States, in agriculture and trade. Many of them

had acquired considerable property, and were the owners of large estates which, like those of their white neighbors, were cultivated by the labor of African slaves. They had also to a great extent abandoned the ancient superstitions of their race, and had adopted the usages and modes of life which belong to Christian nations. Under the teachings of missionaries of different Christian denominations who had long resided among them, hundreds of them had embraced Christianity with a spiritual faith, and were now living in accordance with its precepts. Their churches were thriving, and supplied with pastors from their own people, and their children were receiving the lessons of useful knowledge and growing up under the influence of institutions favorable to their progress and happiness.

Such was the moral and social aspect of the Cherokee nation when, in accordance with the policy of the government, it became necessary to effect their removal from the lands which had been guarantied to their fathers as their perpetual heritage. They were constantly harassed by the continued encroachments of State jurisdiction, and saw their very nationality about to be extinguished by a power which they could not resist. In these troubled relations, both with the State of Georgia and with the national government, their social interests were suffering a sad decline, their industry was diminished, their schools and churches were neglected, and their hopes and energies as a people were well-nigh broken and destroyed. In 1835 a number of influential Cherokees, who saw the hopelessness of their condition, formed a treaty with the Commissioner of the United States providing for an exchange of the lands of the nation and their removal beyond the Mississippi. The treaty, which was liberal in its terms, was accepted by the President and confirmed by the Senate; but on its being made known to the National Council of the Cherokees they indignantly rejected it, disowned the authority of the persons who made it, and reiterated their determination not to remove until compelled by superior power.

Meanwhile the President had caused to be set apart for the reception of the several tribes the unoccupied territory lying

west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, and extending six hundred miles from south to north and from three to six hundred miles from east to west. He regarded the treaty with the Cherokees as valid and proceeded to prepare for its execution, still hoping that the nation would comply with its terms without the interposition of force. But in this he was disappointed, and he decided to employ military array. Troops of the United States to the number of ten thousand were gradually collected within their territory, and an order was issued to Major General Scott to commence the removal of the entire nation on the 24th of May, 1838. The order was executed by the commanding general with the utmost regard for humanity which he was able to secure; but the forced removal of a whole community of sixteen thousand people over a route nearly eight hundred miles in length could not be effected without exposing them to immense sufferings and to numberless depredations from wicked and lawless men. When the appointed day arrived a few fled to the mountains to escape the arrest which awaited them; but the greater proportion—the old and the young, sages wise in council and warriors brave in battle—yielded themselves up without a struggle as prisoners to the troops, and were collected into encampments under the guard of sentinels, in preparation for their final march to a country which they had never beheld. The scene was of the most affecting character, and presents a subject on which the poet or the painter might well exercise the loftiest genius of his art. It was a nation in captivity, — about to be driven by force from their ancient seats, from the fields they had learned to cultivate, and from the graves which contained the ashes of their dead.

Three thousand of the unhappy captives commenced their journey in June, 1838, under the direction of agents of the United States, and the rest of the nation, in consequence of the petitions which they addressed to General Scott, were suffered to remain till the following September, when, the sickly season of summer being past, they voluntarily removed in companies of about a thousand each, under leaders of their own appoint-

ment. Messrs. Jones and Bushyhead each had the charge of one of these emigrant bands, and have described with touching minuteness the incidents of their sorrowful march. The several detachments were four or five months in reaching the place of their destination, and on their arrival it was found that not less than four thousand, or one fourth part of the entire nation, had perished by the fatigues and disasters of the way. Other tribes had preceded them to this common home of their race, and there were now nearly a hundred thousand collected within the territory which had been assigned to them. In this manner was executed a measure of public policy which, though stern and cruel in many of its features, has undoubtedly resulted in the benefit of the Indian race. It has arrested their decline and delayed for an indefinite period the extinction which we dare not hope they can ever wholly escape.

We turn now to consider the influence which these events exerted upon the progress of the mission among the Cherokees. Fortunately for its interests its principal stations were not within the jurisdiction of Georgia, the State which more than any other was bent upon annihilating the independence of the nation. The missionaries were on this account interrupted in their labors far less than were those of the American Board, who were stationed at Brainerd and New Echota. The Indians also who occupied the towns in the retired valley of the Hiwassee, where Mr. Jones and his associates resided, were less distracted by the troubles of the period than were their brethren in other parts of the nation. The deep religious interest which commenced in 1830, and which by the close of 1835 had led to the baptism of three hundred, continued almost without interruption through the darkest days of their adversity to the period of their removal; and even during their dismal journey it was scarcely abated in the detachments which contained the members of the mission and their several churches. Their evening encampments resounded with the voice of prayer and the song of praise, and the secluded streams by which they rested in their wearisome march were sometimes consecrated by the

baptism of new believers. Their national calamities seemed the occasion for the more abundant display of the grace of God in turning them to himself and in conferring upon them the blessings of the gospel.

During all this trying period Mr. Jones and his associates appear to have conducted the mission with admirable judgment and discretion. In common with other missionaries among the Cherokees they were often suspected of interference with the policy of the government, and were once arrested by officers of the United States and removed from their stations; but in the spirit of conscious innocence they still visited their churches and continued their labors as preachers of the gospel. The influence which they exerted was such as became them as Christian missionaries and as spiritual guides and friends of the people; and the fidelity with which they adhered to the nation through all its gloomy fortunes is a triumphant proof of the sincerity of their zeal and the purity of their designs. They shared the discomforts and perils of the journey, and on the arrival of the successive detachments in their appointed district they gave them counsel and aid in reorganizing their settlements and reuniting their churches. In this manner, though the social interests and moral habits of the Cherokees had suffered a serious shock from the troubled condition of their civil affairs, yet on their arrival at their new home the labors of the mission among them were almost immediately resumed, and soon began to be attended with their wonted results.

At the close of the year following the settlement of the nation in the western territory Mr. Jones returned to Tennessee, where his family was still residing, and also visited the Eastern States and the members of the Board at Boston. The accounts which he gave of the progress of civilization and Christianity among the Cherokees created new interest in behalf of the mission and led to immediate measures for its enlargement. In June, 1841, accompanied by his family he reached the Indian territory, and again entered upon the duties of his station, after an absence of eighteen months. During this period the

churches had enjoyed great prosperity; their numbers had been increased by the addition of upwards of two hundred, and nearly a hundred more were baptized before the close of the year. Additional houses of worship had been erected, and a portion of the public money had been set apart by the National Council as a permanent fund for the support of schools, in which the Bible was always to be used as a book of instruction. The people were now for the most part settled upon their own farms, and were rapidly recovering from the evils incident to their recent changes. Industry resumed its wonted activity, and the wilderness began to bloom beneath the labors of their agriculture, while other tribes seeing the comforts they enjoyed seemed disposed to follow their example and emulate their progress in civilization.

In addition to the missions among the tribes still remaining east of the Mississippi, there were now within the limits of the Indian territory nine missions of the Board, at which were stationed twenty-four missionaries and assistants together with twelve native preachers. These were among the Shawanoes, the Delawares, the Putawatomes, the Ottawas, the Otoes, the Omahas, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Cherokees. Most of them were of comparatively recent origin, and some were little more than government schools under the charge of teachers recommended by the Board, who also preached on the Sabbath to the respective tribes among whom they were stationed. This number was soon enlarged by additions to the Cherokee mission, and in 1841 the missionaries and teachers who were connected with the Shawanoes, Ottawas, Putawatomes, and Delawares — tribes contiguous to each other — were united in a single mission, of which the principal seat was fixed at Shawanoe and a subordinate station in each of the other tribes.

At this station there had been a printing-press since 1833, at which the Gospel of Matthew, several school books and a hymn book had been printed in the languages of the Shawanoes, the Ottawas, and the Delawares. A newspaper called the "Shawanoe Sun" had also for several years been edited and published

at the mission. Since that time the Gospel of John has been translated and printed in Shawanoe, and a few books in English, which is taught in all the schools and is in common use among the tribes. In the autumn of 1842, some distrust having been shown by several chiefs towards the members of the mission, its operations were for a time suspended, and some of the missionaries were threatened with violence by the Indians. Mr. Pratt, who had charge of the press, went to reside at Stockbridge, where a branch of the church had been established among the Stockbridge tribe, and of this branch he was now ordained the pastor. At nearly the same time there arrived at Shawanoe Rev. J. S. Bacon, a member of the Board, who had been appointed to visit the several missions of the Indian territory. His arrival was exceedingly opportune, and his presence and the explanations and assurances which he gave exerted the happiest influence in allaying the excited feelings which then prevailed in the tribe. Mr. Bacon extended his visit also to the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Choctaws, and to some other tribes in which the Board have no stations, and collected many important facts and views respecting the present condition of the Indian race, the progress of the missions and the benefits they are conferring. Since that period the labors of the missionaries have gone on without interruption, and though the tribes on which they are bestowed are gradually wasting away, yet they have been attended with many gratifying results. Rev. Messrs. Barker, Pratt, and Meeker, with their wives and Miss E. S. Morse, a teacher, and three native assistants, now constitute the resolute and hopeful band who are sustaining the interests of civilization and Christianity at their respective stations among the Shawanoes, the Delawares and the Ottawas.

Of the remaining missions in the Indian territory, that among the Creeks has already been considered; that among the Choctaws was continued for several years under the charge of Rev. R. D. Potts, with an occasional assistant, but amidst the embarrassments of the Board in 1843 it was relinquished, and has since been taken under the care of the American Indian

Mission Association. Those among the Otoes and the Omahas have also yielded to the same necessity, and the only missions in the territory that now remain under the care of the Board are the Shawanoe and the Cherokee.

To the latter of these missions we now return, and trace the progress it has made since the arrival of Mr. Jones at his station in the summer of 1841. Though unmarked by striking events, it is yet a progress of civilization and of Christian feeling, intelligence and culture, which imparts an interest even to the statistics in which it must be recorded, and awakens the highest hopes for the people by whom it has been realized. The mission has its principal seat at Cherokee, which is three miles west of the boundary of Arkansas, and the portion of the nation who are connected with it reside within a circuit of forty miles on the north, the west and the south. Within this tract there are five stations, at each of which is a church, and an equal number of out-stations at which preaching is regularly maintained. In the autumn of 1843 the mission was furnished with a press and printing establishment, which added greatly to its efficiency and its influence with the nation. It was intrusted to the management of Mr. H. Upham, a printer by trade; and at the same time Rev. W. P. Upham became associated with Mr. Jones in preaching and in the care of the churches and stations. At this press the book of Genesis and about half the books of the New Testament have been printed in Cherokee, together with a number of school-books, tracts, and other religious works. A periodical, known as the "Cherokee Messenger," was commenced by Mr. Upham in 1844, and has since been continued by the members of the mission. To Mr. Jones and the intelligent native assistants whom he has employed has been assigned the work of preparing a version of the New Testament in Cherokee. It was commenced in 1842 and completed in 1847, and after a careful revision is now passing through the press. The book of Genesis was also translated entirely by Mr. Bushyhead. Among the works which have been provided for the reading of the na-

tion is the *Pilgrim's Progress*; that wonderful book, which, though written in the cell of a jail by an illiterate Baptist preacher whom his own age knew only to persecute and despise, has yet attained a rank among the noblest productions of literary genius, and, translated into the languages of many nations, has taught the lessons of Christian faith to multitudes of persons in every grade of civilization and in every condition of life — literally to Jew and Greek, to barbarian, bond and free.

The duty of superintending the interests of the stations has been assigned to Messrs. Jones and Upham, who also preach at Cherokee, while the work of travelling through the territory and preaching at the out-stations has been usually performed by the native pastors, most of whom have been long in the service of the mission and have proved themselves men of superior judgment and fidelity. Their labors have been signally blessed by Him to whose cause they have been devoted. Every year has brought with it new accessions to the band of Christian disciples, and has witnessed their growth in the social charities and spiritual graces which the gospel enjoins. The churches, which on their arrival in the territory in 1839 contained about five hundred members, now number more than twelve hundred, to whose character for piety and zeal the missionaries bear the most gratifying testimony. The civil feuds generated in the nation by the various questions connected with their removal from Georgia have occasionally been revived, and have sometimes impelled the rival factions to the verge of violence. From this cause the progress of the Cherokees in some years has been seriously checked, and passions were excited among them which threatened to bear them back to the barbarism from which they had but lately emerged. These feuds, however, it is hoped are now extinguished, and every outward hinderance to their social and religious advancement is effectually removed. To the promotion of this advancement the National Council is earnestly and wisely devoted, as is proved by the whole course of its legislation. The school system of the nation is far in advance of that of many of the frontier

States of the Union, and would do no discredit even to older and more favored portions of the country. Indeed so numerous and elevated have the national schools now become, that several of those formerly sustained by the mission have been discontinued, and their teachers removed to other tribes.

The summer of 1845 was a sickly season among the Cherokees, and the month of July was marked in the history of the mission by the death of Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, the ablest and most successful of the native preachers, and one of the ablest and most energetic men of the nation to which he belonged. He was one of its earliest pioneers in civilization, and one of the noblest exemplifications of Christian character it has ever produced. With the interest of an intelligent patriot in its fortunes, he engaged earnestly in attempting to avert the troubles which threatened it and participated in many of the most important negotiations relating to its removal beyond the Mississippi. In 1833 he was ordained to the Christian ministry, and became pastor of a church, — an office in which he continued to the end of his life, a faithful preacher of righteousness to the people of his charge. In addition to his services as a missionary he was also appointed Chief Justice of the Cherokees after their settlement in the new territory, and in this station, which he still held at the time of his death, through many trying periods of national affairs, he was always distinguished for his wise administration of even-handed justice. His memory will long be cherished in the nation with the respect that is due to a high-minded councillor and magistrate, and a faithful minister of the gospel.

The Indian population with which our missions are now connected in the several tribes does not exceed thirty thousand, and this number is gradually diminishing in accordance with what appears to be the destiny of their race, even in its most favorable conditions. Of these tribes the Cherokees are undoubtedly the most nearly civilized. Among them the preaching of the gospel has been attended with signal success; conversions are as frequent as in the congregations of New England,

and the institutions of Christianity may be considered as already permanently established. They need only to be furnished with educated teachers and pastors in order to secure for themselves the sure progress of a Christian people. When this want shall have been supplied, even though the mission should be withdrawn, we may anticipate for the Cherokee nation during the remnant of their existence as a people, the continued blessings of social order, of popular instruction and of Christian worship.

The missions among the Indians of North America, though requiring a piety and zeal as self-sacrificing and devoted, and often prosecuted amid perils and privations as difficult to be borne, as those which belong to any other mission, have yet, it must be admitted, been regarded with far less interest by the Christian public both of our own and of other denominations. This may be in part owing to their comparative proximity, and the seeming familiarity which we possess with their condition and operations. They do not appeal to us from the distant shores of ancient heathenism, and it may be on this account that they exert less influence both upon our imagination and our sympathies. But this want of interest must also be ascribed to the peculiar barbarism of the Indians and their hopeless destiny as a people. That they are capable of civilization and conversion to Christianity is abundantly proved by the facts of their history, as well as by their participation in our common humanity; but though blessed with religion and civilization they can never have a place among the nations of the earth. The future opens before them no prospect of advancement—no hopes of ultimate greatness and power. It reveals to them only a descending pathway of decline and diminution, terminating at last in their utter extinction as a race. This is indeed a melancholy doom for a once mighty people, and it spreads its sombre shadow even over the labors of the Christian missionary for their instruction and improvement.

But even with these hopeless prospects as a people the claim they have upon the sympathies and the philanthropy of Ameri-

can Christians is, if possible, stronger than that of any other portion of mankind. It is for us that their heritage has been despoiled and they have been scattered and wasted, and it is to us that Providence has assigned the broad domain which they lately held by the undisputed possession of centuries. We are daily treading amid the graves of their dead, and are occupying the ancient homes where they once dwelt in barbarian pride and power. Every wave of our population that rolls westward must diminish their territory and hasten their extinction. In their civil relations to the American people they have been styled the adopted children of the republic; they are under its protection and within its guardian care. Their condition on this account the more earnestly invites the ceaseless endeavors of Christian philanthropy to raise them from degradation and reclaim them from barbarism, and to pour into their darkened natures the light of that gospel which has made our national condition and prospects so different from theirs.

IN the foregoing chapters we have narrated the leading facts pertaining to the commencement and progress of the several foreign missions of a society which is connected with a large Christian denomination, and which has long maintained an honorable rank among the philanthropic institutions of the country. The narrative embraces plans and operations which have been carried on in many different lands and among different races of men, and at its close we may properly linger for a moment upon the features by which they are marked and the results which they have accomplished.

These missions, like the contemporary missions of other religious societies, sprang from the spirit of Christian philanthropy which found its earliest expression in this country, near the

beginning of the present century, in the pious resolutions and vows of a few young men at that time students in the Seminary at Andover. Commencing in the humblest manner, with but few to furnish them support or even to lend them countenance, they have gone steadily forward in the sacred work of propagating the gospel. They have extended from country to country, and from continent to continent, until they are now engaged in promulgating the doctrines of the Bible in the languages of eighteen different portions of the human race. They thus constitute an interesting and important part of that beneficent enterprise which is at length awakening the interest and enlisting the energies of nearly every portion of the Christian church, and which more than any other enterprise of the age is identified with the spiritual progress and elevation of man.

Though scattered in countries widely separated from each other, these missions have one single design and every where present one uniform characteristic. They are established for the simple propagation of the gospel of Christ. With this object alone in view their founders and agents have gone forth proclaiming the doctrines of the Cross in the countries which they have entered, and they have refrained from every undertaking which was not connected with this single errand. The introduction of science or of art, the instruction of the young, and even the translation of the Scriptures, important as these may well be deemed, have all been made subsidiary to what they have been instructed to regard as the higher work of preaching to the people. The missionaries have generally been men of intellectual discipline and culture; but the characteristic by which they may be most properly distinguished is that they were devoted to the work which was set before them,—the work which the Saviour of men early committed to his chosen disciples to be prosecuted even to the end of the world. They have penetrated countries sunk in the lowest barbarism or overshadowed with the hoary heathenism of a thousand years; they have gone to nations enslaved by spiritual despotism, and groping in the fading twilight of a corrupted faith; but their errand

has been always the same. They have not courted the favor of princes or the sanction of prelates; they have intrigued neither with politicians nor ecclesiastics; but have seated themselves among the people, and there begun to preach to all who would hear. As teachers of religion they have asserted the supremacy of the conscience, and have neither established for themselves nor recognized in others any authority over the inherent freedom of the human soul. When driven from one city or country they have gone to another; and though called before magistrates, incarcerated in dungeons and threatened with ignominious death, they have trusted in the protection of Heaven, and have still worked on in their holy enterprise of mercy and love.

Missionary labors thus conducted, however misapprehended and derided they may sometimes be, cannot fail to command the respect even if they do not secure the coöperation of all intelligent and right-minded people. The spirit which they embody is precisely the spirit which history and song have most delighted to celebrate, and which in all ages awakens the admiration and sympathy of generous and magnanimous natures. By the spectacle which they have presented, this spirit has been diffused through the churches which have contributed to their support, and the piety of a multitude of hearts has been raised to a nobler standard and quickened to a more heroic zeal for the salvation of men.

But the spirit in which these missions have been undertaken and thus far conducted does not constitute their only title to the respect and gratitude of the friends of the human race, or their only claim to the continued and most hearty coöperation of those on whom they depend for their pecuniary support and their progressive enlargement. They have accomplished results of the highest importance to the social and spiritual interests of mankind. The divine Head of the church has been with them according to his own gracious promise, and has been pleased to employ them as instruments for the extension of his kingdom in the world. They have thus been the means of bringing many thousands of the devotees of heathenism or of superstition

to the knowledge and the worship of God, and of planting in many an idolatrous or unevangelized land pure churches of Christ, in which we may hope the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel will be cherished through centuries to come, and from which, as from centres of spiritual illumination, there shall be diffused over the surrounding wastes the ever-increasing light of heavenly truth.

The success they have attained has been different in different countries, but with scarcely an exception it has been proportioned to the directness of the efforts which have been made to press the truths of the gospel upon the attention of the people. Their history unites with that of the whole Christian church, as well as with the testimony of Scripture, in demonstrating that by the foolishness of preaching men are most effectually turned to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. Other agencies have contributed their influence, but it is the preacher's proclamation of the tidings of salvation which at all periods and in all countries has won for the religion of the Cross its most glorious and enduring triumphs.

The character and efficiency of these missions, though mainly dependent on the wisdom and zeal of those who conduct them in the countries in which they are planted, must also be affected in no small degree by the counsels and measures of their guardians and managers at home. It is only when these are pervaded by generous Christian sympathy and concentrated upon the single end to be accomplished, that the labors of the missionaries can be prosecuted with the highest energy and the best success. Upon topics like this the records of our missionary Convention are replete with instruction. Every painful vicissitude through which it has passed has been felt at the remotest station of its missions. Every period of pecuniary embarrassment, of divided counsels, or of unsettled plans, has imparted its own sombre spirit to the operations it is conducting in the most distant lands. The agency of the Missionary Union, the association in which members of our communion over a large portion of the country are now united, is limited

by the terms of its constitution to the single object of "diffusing the knowledge of the religion of Jesus Christ by means of missions throughout the world;" and with the recorded experience of the past all before us, we cannot but earnestly hope it will never again be extended to any other object however important or inviting. Rather may this Union, which had its origin amidst the happiest auspices, intrench itself more and more in the affections of its members and friends, and, becoming every year more and more identified with the interests and triumphs of our growing missions, remain unchanged, and be transmitted to other generations crowned with the richest blessings of Heaven upon all its deliberations and endeavors for the spiritual welfare of mankind.

The facilities amidst which the Union is now conducting the enterprise to which it is devoted are wholly unexampled in its history. The experience of its managers has become mature, and the confidence of its supporters is firmly settled; and far beyond the immediate sphere of its counsels and plans a most remarkable and favorable change has taken place in the condition of the world. The great events of the present century have been tributary to the advancement of Christian missions. The explorations of commerce in distant seas, the victories of European arms over the nations of the East, the intimate intercourse which is now established between the remotest lands, —all have opened new pathways for the missionary and removed innumerable obstacles which once opposed his progress. Nor is the change less remarkable or less favorable in the opinions and feelings with which this enterprise is regarded in civilized countries. Once it was derided and opposed, not merely by a hostile public sentiment at home, but by colonial officers and commercial agents in all parts of the world. But all this has passed away, and our missions are invited to countries from which they were lately driven by unfriendly governors, and are cherished and supported as invaluable agencies of civilization by the very officers who once denounced and drove them away as the troublesome intermeddlings of impotent en-

thusiasts. It can now scarcely be said that a single portion of mankind is inaccessible to their heroic pioneers. The commerce of the English race now covers every sea and traffics on every shore, and wherever either the English or the American flag proclaims the presence of civilized power, there the missionary confident of protection, may prosecute his work unharmed. The unintelligible jargon of barbarian tribes has been reduced to the forms of written speech, and the confused languages which were once regarded as incapable of acquisition even by the most assiduous and protracted industry, are now fully mastered by the missionary and already contain the printed Scriptures and the rudiments of a religious literature for the people who speak them.

With such aims still before them, and possessing these accumulated facilities for their prosecution and accomplishment, the missions whose brief and changeful history we have recited commend themselves to their supporters and friends as agencies which God has signally blessed in hastening the march of Christian civilization, and in establishing his own kingdom of righteousness and truth among the nations. They are identified with the highest interests of man in the countries where they are established, and are the subjects of the fondest hopes, the daily prayers and the generous sacrifices of a multitude of Christian hearts in the churches of our own extended communion. The fields which they occupy are constantly widening, and the claims which they prefer become stronger and more numerous with every succeeding year. May the counsels which direct them ever be blessed of Heaven, and the charities which support them be worthy of the sacred and sublime object they aim to accomplish,—THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD TO THE RELIGION OF THE SAVIOUR.

APPENDIX.

TABLE OF THE MISSIONS, IN 1848-9.

Missions.	Stations.	Out-stations.	Missionaries.	Female assistants.	Tot. missionaries and assistants.	Native preachers.	Other assistants.	Total native preachers and assistants.	Churches.	Baptized.	Present number.	Boarding schools.	Pupils.	Day schools.	Pupils.	Theol. schools.	Pupils.	Normal school.	Pupils.	Total pupils.	Pages printed.	
Malmain, Burman,	2	...	7	7	14	18	18	36	25	194	1	100	4	60	1	2	1	...	...	6	152	870,400
"	6	29	5	5	10	6	39	45	26	104	1	105	4	60	1	23	1	...	...	8	224	2,000,000
Tavy,	2	13	5	5	10	...	18	18	11	31	1	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	14	160,000
Kareh,	2	13	5	5	10	...	18	18	11	31	1	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	14	160,000
Aracan,	1	37	5	5	10	2	40	42	38	1245	5000	1	66	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	18	2,200,000
Stam,	2	3	3	3	6	1	5	6	1	4	29	...	...	2	18	...	...	...	...	1	12	120,000
China,	2	3	3	3	6	...	8	8	3	1	25	...	...	1	12	...	...	...	...	20	645	...
Assam,	3	...	3	3	6	...	8	8	3	...	50	1	45	19	600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Telooeo,	1	...	3	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Whole number in Asia, 8.	20	85	39	36	75	9	132	142	84	1500	7652	6	830	30	740	2	25	1	36	38	1131	...
Bassa Mission,	1	2	...	2	2	1	4	5	1	9	17	1	20	2	40	...	...	...	...	3	60	...
Mission to France,	8	10	2	2	4	6	14	20	15	47	250	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	20	32	...	...	...	18	...	18	35	300	2300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	2	...	2	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50	...	...	...	...	1	50	...
Whole number in Europe, 8.	30	42	4	5	9	24	14	38	50	847	2550	...	...	1	50	...	...	...	...	1	50	...
Mission to Ojibwas,	2	1	3	3	6	...	1	1	2	...	44	1	7	1	50	...	...	...	...	2	57	...
"	1	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	1	1	25	...	...	2	30	...	...	...	...	1	30	...
Ojibwas, in Michigan,	1	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	100	...	...	...	...	2	100	...
Tuscaroras,	1	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	100	...
Shawnee Mission,	3	...	3	3	6	...	3	3	3	22	151	2	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	43	...
Cherokee	5	...	5	5	10	...	5	5	6	121	1100	...	...	1	48	...	...	...	...	1	48	634,500
Whole number in America, 5.	12	6	11	12	23	5	4	9	13	144	1325	3	50	5	228	...	...	...	...	8	278	...
Totals,	63	135	54	55	109	39	165	194	148	2000	11534	10	400	38	1058	2	25	1	38	50	1519	...

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES OF THE UNION.

Station.	Missionary.	Ap'd.	Dept. of Labor.	Remarks.
BURMAH.				
Maulmain.	Adoniram Judson,	1814	Burmese,	
"	Emily Chubbuck J.	1846	"	
"	Thomas Simons,	1831	"	
"	Hosea Howard,	1832	"	
"	Theresa Patten H.	"	"	
"	Justus H. Vinton,	"	Sgau Karen,	In U. S.
"	Calista Holman V.	"	"	"
"	Sewall M. Osgood,	1834	Burmese,	"
"	S. M. Willsey O.	1836	"	"
"	Edward A. Stevens,	"	"	
"	Elizabeth L. Haven S.	"	"	
"	Lyman Stilson,	"	"	
"	Lucretia Brownson S.	"	"	
"	Miss Miranda Vinton,	1841	Sgau Karen,	
"	Joseph G. Binney,	1843	"	
"	Juliet Pattison B.	"	"	
"	Thomas S. Ranney,	"	Burmese,	Printer.
"	R.	"	"	
"	Norman Harris,	1844	Sgau Karen,	
"	O. C. Wadsworth H.	"	"	
"	Miss Lydia Lillybridge,	1846	Burmese,	
"	William Moore,	1847	Pwo Karen,	
"	Elizabeth W. Forbes M.	"	"	
Amherst.	James M. Haswell,	1835	Peguan,	Returning to U. S.
"	Jane M. Mason H.	"	"	"
Tavoy.	Jonathan Wade,	1823	Sgau Karen,	In U. S.
"	Deborah B. Lapham W.	"	"	"
"	Cephas Bennett,	1828	"	Printer.
"	Stella Kneeland B.	"	"	
"	Francis Mason,	1829	"	
"	Ellen H. Bullard M.	1843	"	
"	Edmund B. Cross,	1842	"	
"	Julia Ann Putnam C.	"	"	
"	Judson Benjamin,	1848	"	
"	Susan R. Stone B.	"	"	
Mergui,	Darlin L. Brayton,	1837	Pwo Karen,	
"	Mary H. Fuller B.	"	"	In U. S.
Akyab,	Lovell Ingalls,	1835	Burmese,	
"	Calvin C. Moore,	1848	"	
"	Laura C. Irish M.	"	"	
Sandoway,	Elisha L. Abbott,	1835	Sgau Karen,	
"	John S. Beecher,	1846	"	
"	Martha Foote B.	"	"	
"	Henry L. Van Meter,	1848	"	
"	Louisa Hooker V. M.	"	"	
SIAM.				
Bangkok,	John T. Jones,	1829	Siamese,	
"	Sarah Sleeper J.	1847	"	
"	John H. Chandler.	1840	"	Machinist.
"	Helen Mar Crossman C.	"	"	
"	Miss Harriet H. Morse,	1847	"	
"	Samuel J. Smith,	1848	"	
CHINA.				
Hongkong,	William Dean,	1832	Tiechju Dialect,	
"	John Johnson,	1846	"	
Ningpo,	Josiah Goddard,	1838	"	
"	Eliza Ann Abbott G.	"	"	
"	Daniel J. Macgowan,	1841	Ningpo,	Physician.
"	Mary Ann Osborne M.	1845	"	
"	Edward C. Lord,	1846	"	
"	Lucy T. Lyon L.	"	"	
ASSAM.				
Sibsagar,	Nathan Brown,	1831	Assamese,	

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES OF THE UNION.

Station	Missionary.	Ap'd.	Dept. of Labor.	Remarks.
ASSAM.				
Sibsagar,	Eliza W. Bullard B.	1831	Assamese,	Printer. Returning to U. S.
"	Oliver T. Cutter,	"	"	
"	Harriet B. Low C.	"	"	
Nowgong,	Miles Bronson,	1836	"	"
"	Ruth M. Lucas B.	"	"	"
"	Ira J. Stoddard,	1847	"	
"	Drusilla C. Allen S.	"	"	
Gowahatti,	Cyrus Barker,	1839	"	
"	Jane Weston B.	"	"	
"	Appleton H. Danforth,	1847	"	
"	Frances A. Studley D.	"	"	
HINDOSTAN.				
Nellore,	Samuel S. Day,	1835	Teloogoo,	In U. S.
	Rowena Clark D.	"	"	
	Stephen Van Huseu,	1838	"	
	Joanna Brown V. H.	"	"	
	Lyman Jewett,	1848	"	
	Euphemia Davis J.	"	"	
WEST AFRICA.				
Bexley,	Lois G. Clarke,	1837	Bassa,	In U. S.
	Mary B. C. Crocker.	1843	"	
FRANCE.				
Douay,	Erastus Willard,	1834		
	Caroline Morse W.	1846		
Paris,	Thomas T. Devan,	1844		
"	Emma E. Clark D.	1848		
GERMANY.				
Hamburg,	J. G. Oncken,	1835		
Berlin,	G. W. Lehmann,	1841		
GREECE.				
Corfu,	Mrs. Harriet E. Dickson,	1839		
	Albert N. Arnold,	1843		
	Sarah Allin A.	"		
Piræus,	Rufus F. Buel,	1840		
	Mary J. Raymond B.	"		
INDIAN TERRITORY.				
Cherokee,	Evan Jones,	1821	Cherokee,	Printer
"	Cunningham J.	"	"	
"	Willard P. Upham,	1843	"	
"	E. O. Newhall U.	"	"	
"	Hervey Upham,	"	"	
"	R. E. Warren U.	"	"	
Ottawa,	Jotham Meeker,	1827	Ottawa,	
	E. D. Richardson M.	1830	"	
	Miss Jane Kelly Jones,	1843	"	
Delaware,	John G. Pratt,	1837	Delaware,	
	Olivia Evans P.	"	"	
	Miss Elizabeth S. Morse,	1847	"	
Shawanoce,	Francis Barker,	1839	Shawanoce,	
	E. F. Churchill B.	"	"	
MICHIGAN.				
Richland,	Leonard Slater,	1826	Ottawa,	
	Mary A. S.	"	"	
St. Mary's,	Abel Bingham,	1828	Ojibwa,	
"	Hannah Brown B.	"	"	
Tiquamina,	J. D. Cameron,	1832	"	
NEW YORK.				
Tonawanda,	Augustus Warren,		Tuscarora,	Under care of N. Y. Convention.
"	W.		"	

MISSIONARIES DECEASED WHILE CONNECTED WITH THE MISSIONS.

Missionaries.	Mission.	Birth.	Appointment.	Death.
Edward W. Wheelock,	Burman,	Boston, Ms., 1796,	May 16, 1817,	At sea, Aug. 20, 1819.
Mrs. Jonathan D. Price,	"	New Jersey,	" 16, 1821,	Rangoon, May 2, 1822.
James Colman,	"	Boston, Ms., 1794,	" 16, 1817,	Cox's Bazaar, July 4, 1822.
Calvin Holton,	African,	Beverly, Ms.,	Jan. 24, 1826,	Monrovia, July 23, 1826.
Mrs. Ann Hasseltine Judson,	Burman,	Bradford, Ms., 1789,	May 25, 1814,	Amherst, Oct. 24, 1826.
Jonathan D. Price,	"	New Jersey, 1780,	" 1, 1820,	Ava, Feb. 14, 1828.
Lott Carey,	African,	Richmond, Va., 1780,	" 1, 1819,	Monrovia, Nov. 10, 1828.
Mrs. Eliza Read Skinner,	"	Ashford, Ct.,	Jan. 11, 1830,	"
Mrs. Elizabeth Jones,	"	Great Valley, Pa.,	July 24, 1821,	Valley Towns, N. C., Feb. 5, 1831.
George D. Boardman,	Cherokee,	Livermore, Me., 1801,	May, 1823,	Near Tavoy, Feb. 11, 1831.
Benjamin R. Skinner,	Burman,	Granville, Ms., 1803,	Jan. 11, 1830,	At sea, March 1, 1831.
Mrs. Almy Kineaid,	African,	Mt. Zion, Pa.,	Feb. 1, 1830,	Maulmain, Dec. 19, 1831.
Mrs. David Lewis,	Burman,	North Yarmouth, Me., 1794,	May 14, 1832,	Indian Territory, 1833.
Miss Sarah Cummings,	Creek,	Petersburg, Va.,	May 11, 1832,	Maulmain, Aug. 2, 1834.
Colston W. Waring,	African,	France, 1774,	June 6, 1820,	Monrovia, Aug. 13, 1834.
Duncan O'Bryen,	Cherokee,	Morrisville, N. Y.,	1823-4,	Indian Territory, Aug. 25, 1834.
Gusmit Rostan,	French,	Virginia,	Oct. 3, 1831,	Indian Territory, Aug. 5, 1834.
Mrs. Matilda Coman Dean,	Siam,	New York,	April, 1834,	Paris, Dec. 5, 1834.
Mrs. Elizabeth M. Mylne,	African,	Pennsylvania,	April, 1835,	Singapore, March 5, 1835.
Samuel Aldrich,	Cherokee,	Elbridge, N. Y.,	Sept. 8, 1834,	Millsburg, Sept. 16, 1835.
Mrs. Joseph Smedley,	Choctaw,	Southbridge, Ms.,	Sept. 8, 1834,	Indian Territory, Nov. 22, 1835.
Jacob Thomas,	Assam,	Chesterfield, Ms., 1807,	April 20, 1836,	"
Mrs. Catharine B. M. Hall,	Arracan,	Stafford, Ct.,	June, 1836,	Near Sadiya, July 7, 1837.
Alanson Read,	Siam,	Dover, N. Y., 1808,	Aug. 3, 1836,	Kyongk Phyo, July 9, 1837.
Levi Hall,	Arracan,	Haverhill, Ms.,	June 6, 1836,	Bangkok, Aug. 29, 1837.
Mrs. Elhira Brown Osgood,	Burman,	Providence, R. I., 1803,	Mar. 17, 1834,	Kyongk Phyo, Sept. 12, 1837.
Mrs. Elizabeth P. Kellam,	Creek,	New York,	Sept. 17, 1836,	Maulmain, Oct. 5, 1837.
Mrs. Eliza Grev Jones,	Siam,	Sedgwick, Me., 1804,	July 14, 1836,	Indian Territory, Feb. 2, 1838.
David H. Kollth,	Creek,	Lake Pleasant, N. Y., 1801,	Sept. 8, 1834,	Bangkok, March 28, 1838.
Moas Merrill,	Otoe,	Chelmsford, Ms.,	June 11, 1832,	Commerce, Mich., May 12, 1839.
Mias Eleanor Macomber,	Maulmain,	"	Nov. 3, 1832,	Indian Territory, Feb. 6, 1840.
Mrs. Elizabeth Warren Crocker,	Bassa,	"	Dec. 3, 1838,	Maulmain, April 6, 1840.
				Madebli, Aug. 28, 1840.

TABLES OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO THE CONVENTION AND UNION TO APRIL 1, 1849.

Year.	Maine.	New Hampshire.	Vermont.	Mass.	R. Island.	Conn.	New York.	N. Jersey.	Penn.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Col.	Virginia.
1815.		200 00	555 49	1,752 72	109 82	434 27	1,094 50	110 00	2,060 27	44 06	352 63	117 20	1,270 64
1816.		175 00	115 20	1,798 07	285 03	481 85	1,545 95	105 00	1,004 01		122 04	600 00	883 52
1817.		390 01	384 01	1,810 51	28 27	315 50	1,689 45	240 40	2,062 35		31 08	600 00	1,681 50
1818.	140 00	427 00	427 00	1,510 03	69 00	156 34	1,756 50	90 50	240 00	25 70	200 00	200 00	1,040 00
1819.	277 33	307 33	307 33	1,528 19	36 59	111 59	2,013 97	49 00	707 50	8 00	119 67	100 00	1,040 00
1820.	22 62	105 00	283 96	1,145 50	6 00	170 06	2,084 29	56 50	400 00		124 75		288 25
1821.	150 00	120 46	283 61	1,400 00	3 72	26 57	1,517 62	50 00					100 00
1822.		88 85	306 74	2,297 00		95 90	1,699 13	106 25	43 00				
1823.			371 20	1,854 62		104 91	2,966 19	181 00	816 32		83 00	557 02	1,293 11
1824.			454 58	1,089 56			896 43	178 84	82 34			60 00	1,293 11
1825.	608 25	77 30	754 57	4,513 63	200 30		1,903 12	168 00	200 00		7 00	30 00	462 65
1826.	797 02	211 26	451 75	1,938 02	22 80		2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1827.	2,196 78	64 50	1,133 98	2,518 18	602 03	175 00	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1828.	1,801 68	273 24	183 98	2,398 85	300 00	1,245 76	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1829.	1,110 63	193 24	315 00	2,398 85	300 00	250 00	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1830.	1,101 63	490 80	408 41	3,943 07	318 50	1,271 82	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1831.	1,775 22	248 14	462 32	4,077 28	416 00	1,011 37	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1832.	1,045 27	16 78	963 17	5,307 58	416 00	1,011 37	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1833.	1,101 58	620 31	1,705 41	4,468 35	542 57	1,943 03	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1834.	1,548 15	650 30	1,705 41	4,468 35	542 57	1,943 03	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1835.	1,592 16	508 50	1,705 41	4,468 35	542 57	1,943 03	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1836.	1,592 16	508 50	1,705 41	4,468 35	542 57	1,943 03	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1837.	2,775 45	407 11	233 50	6,820 63	1,049 25	1,943 03	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1838.	1,142 80	534 00	186 50	4,890 45	606 25	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1839.	2,005 61	867 75	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1840.	2,178 53	863 08	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1841.	1,463 81	863 08	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1842.	1,553 43	454 10	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1843.	1,420 04	441 18	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1844.	3,420 41	1,108 01	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1845.	2,398 27	1,085 46	1,685 69	11,685 69	1,972 75	2,000 28	2,356 87	146 00	808 00			17 50	462 65
1846.	6,440 14	2,090 88	2,041 84	28,122 00	6,186 13	2,797 15	29,680 68	1,474 62	5,622 21	263 81	1,034 00	940 24	2,768 85
1847.	4,076 82	2,237 67	1,685 69	21,368 94	6,186 13	2,797 15	29,680 68	1,474 62	5,622 21	263 81	1,034 00	940 24	2,768 85
1848.	5,288 22	2,527 67	2,010 83	23,928 42	4,013 25	4,248 45	29,101 46	2,181 05	11,352 07	300 00	205 00	50 00	465 00
1849.	6,032 28	2,210 69	1,964 73	23,483 47	6,444 68	6,039 34	24,707 14	3,229 83	4,806 56	200 00	43 50	411 00	60 12
	\$65,983 41	\$19,629 26	\$20,384 12	247,114 55	\$49,231 20	\$62,780 38	\$265,201 23	\$24,441 80	\$69,131 13	\$1,823 44	\$8,235 83	\$6,612 09	\$63,890 81

Year.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Florida.	Louisiana.	Arkansas.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.
1815	80 59	2,334 51	357 32						78 56	1,417 49	408 42		
1816	1,562 60	1,117 39	1,564 11		247 12		170 58		35 60	635 85	191 50	23 00	
1817	312 28	1,891 19	1,564 11				375 00		320 94	232 17	166 65	41 43	
1818	65 00	1,745 06	710 00				50 00		50 00	30 00	20 00	10 00	
1819	163 00	523 00	1,082 00		100 00		100 00		91 50	1,069 50	641 50	4 60	
1820		885 00	1,025 51								75 00		
1821		404 00	150 00										
1822		456 00	415 00										
1823	222 60	456 00	415 00										
1824	172 28	400 00	400 00										
1825	101 00	415 60	200 25										
1826	16 00	610 00	1,000 00										
1827	77 00	610 00	7 13										
1828	27 60	1,269 52	270 00										
1829	27 60	1,562 07	202 43	20 56									
1830	43 00	440 00	715 00										
1831	115 00	948 19	1,308 45	180 00									
1832	170 00	687 04	1,337 50	169 00									
1833	463 12	1,686 89	1,347 13	221 42	22 18				20 00	20 00	154 22		5 00
1834	320 00	1,988 00	3,263 77	129 00						21 00	421 42		10 00
1835	453 69	2,453 10	1,548 29	167 00						208 50	693 51		217 59
1836	302 00	4,613 47	8,725 85	471 00	498 28		100 00		68 19	285 00	907 37	108 25	317 59
1837	447 21	3,714 34	8,549 74	2,974 40	121 00					507 50	1,213 75	136 64	280 00
1838	45 75	2,396 97	924 59	924 59						285 76	1,058 80	475 00	487 52
1839	331 00	3,360 89	3,475 42	979 75					215 96	661 45	1,310 80	333 96	456 37
1840	296 86	3,651 98	7,084 58	384 01	5 50				250 21	1,043 63	1,173 45	323 32	353 97
1841	104 00	1,706 69	1,245 79	1,245 79	30 00				21 00	258 81	548 65	165 99	408 63
1842	330 00	1,275 04	8,492 09	877 07	355 03	94 00		25	175 73	904 50	886 58	135 85	184 37
1843	125 82	1,174 91	2,927 19	941 00	110 49		30 00	4 40	2 50	1,327 90	1,398 62	136 83	598 14
1844	203 61	2,550 09	3,200 42	250 62	463 27	50 00			105 90	723 06	3,436 92	232 95	1,043 43
1845	445 00	654 19	9,031 40	888 27	393 23	4 00			10 00	279 69	3,355 96	326 50	383 51
1846		754 96	44 00	1,016 75	102 37		10 00		5 00	165 00	2,607 31	102 00	860 50
1847		6 00	8,146 98		2 50					376 65	6,429 81	864 50	696 40
1848						11 00				95 00	6,595 85	832 01	593 13
1849					19 40								
	\$6,816 76	\$44,626 29	\$70,465 44	\$11,450 32	\$2,424 19	\$209 00	\$906 27	\$4 65	\$1,758 62	\$12,344 41	\$35,738 93	\$3,746 72	\$7,655 43

Year.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Wisconsin.	Iowa.	Mission Stations.	Canada.	N. Scotia.	New Brunswick.	England.	Scotland.	States not designated.	Total.
1815					11 62							\$ 13,476 10
1816											247 85	11,980 87
1817											96 75	10,240 73
1818											1,253 73	8,076 51
1819											937 98	12,304 21
1820						50		69 42			400 75	7,753 16
1821											486 82	3,015 27
1822											4,944 29	4,944 29
1823											173 86	9,137 63
1824											728 50	5,186 20
1825											176 70	9,496 50
1826						8 10					897 85	9,246 85
1827											143 50	10,639 00
1828		50 00					37 50	21 00			342 68	9,158 50
1829		20 00					29 44	23 16			1,520 72	21,622 00
1830		50 00					25 24	59 00			854 26	15,296 00
1831		10 00				10 00	508 28	31 50		100 00	1,110 55	16,556 00
1832		86 00				3 00	623 00	40 85		144 00	401 43	27,940 80
1833						9 25	323 00	10 00			1,968 53	29,941 30
1834						7 73	225 00	37 33			711 25	30,747 00
1835						29 73	225 00	10 62		25 00	1,652 46	40,547 06
1836		20 00					45 00	60 00			282 57	39,747 00
1837	251 00	83 88				33 25	100 00	32 00			1,629 90	84,583 21
1838		21 06				9 00	115 68	72 00			288 05	61,289 80
1839		43 63				15 50	116 46	67 00			1,194 19	67,781 00
1840	7 00	73 00				47 20	74 25					52,598 98
1841	147 50	3 00	1 00	1 50		19 00		50 00				50,706 80
1842		109 00		11 67		21 70				143 47	23 50	45,883 64
1843	58 00	102 81		7 60		14 00				213 72	946 85	62,632 99
1844	105 11	107 23	7 95	5 11	17 87	27 00					10 00	77,876 50
1845	327 08	592 23	47 06	80 49	5 57	53 50					21 00	100,150 62
1846	1,202 97	1,202 97	46 14	87 63	215 00	297 13			4 66		118 83	85,090 54
1847		503 65	73 04	98 84	80 20	2,031 31			43 76		8 73	85,894 42
1848		781 63	146 73	15 49	64 00	378 66		10 00			290 00	88,002 10
1849	10 00	194 42	5 00	43 69	584 00							1,132,394 57
	\$1,079 98	\$4,359 43	\$528 84	\$251 55	\$919 76	\$2,943 58	\$2,293 65	\$930 90	\$331 00	\$939 71	\$16,394 63	

CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSIONARY UNION.

OF THE UNION.

1. This Association shall be styled *THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION*.

2. The single object of this Union shall be to diffuse the knowledge of the religion of Jesus Christ, by means of missions, throughout the world.

3. This Union shall be composed of Life Members. All the members of the Baptist General Convention who may be present at the adoption of this Constitution, shall be members for life of the Union. Other persons may be constituted Life Members by the payment, at one time, of not less than one hundred dollars.

4. The Union shall meet annually on the third Thursday of May, or at such other time, and at such place, as it may appoint. At every such annual meeting the Union shall elect by ballot a President, two Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, and one third of a Board of Managers.

At a meeting to be held immediately after the adoption of this Constitution, the Union shall elect an entire Board of Managers, consisting of seventy-five persons, at least one third of whom shall not be ministers of the gospel. Said Board shall be elected in three equal classes, the first to go out of office at the first annual meeting: and thus, in regular succession, one third of the Board shall go out of office at each annual meeting, and their places shall be supplied by a new election. In every case the members whose term of service shall thus expire, shall be re-eligible.

5. The President, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, shall preside in all meetings of the Union.

6. All the officers of the Union and its Board of Managers shall continue to discharge the duties assigned to them respectively, until superseded by a new election.

7. Special meetings of the Union shall be called by the President, or in case of his death or absence from the country, by either of the Vice Presidents, upon application from the Board of Managers.

OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

8. All members of the Union may attend the meetings of the Board of Managers, and deliberate on all questions, but members of the Board only, shall vote.

9. Immediately after the annual meeting of the Union, the Board of Managers shall meet and elect by ballot a Chairman; a Recording Secretary; an Executive Committee of nine, not more than five of whom shall be ministers of the gospel; as many Corresponding Secretaries as they may judge to be necessary; a Treasurer; and an Auditing Committee of two, who shall not be ministers of the gospel. At this meeting the Board shall determine the salaries of the Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurer, and give such instructions to the Executive Committee as may be necessary, to regulate their plans of action for the ensuing year. The Board shall also have power, whenever they think it necessary, to appoint an Assistant Treasurer, and to specify his duties and fix his compensation.

10. The Board shall meet annually at such place as may have been appointed for the annual meeting of the Union, at least two days previous to such meeting, to hear the reports of the Executive Committee, the Treasurer,

and the Auditing Committee, and to review with care the proceedings of the past year, the result of which shall be submitted to the Union.

11. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the Executive Committee, whenever, in their judgment, occasion may require. A printed notice of the time, place, and object or objects of such meetings, shall be sent, at least six weeks in anticipation, to every member of the Board.

12. All officers appointed by the Board shall continue to discharge the duties assigned to them respectively, until superseded by a new election. At all meetings of the Board fifteen shall be a quorum for business.

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

13. The Executive Committee shall hold its meetings at such times and places as they may appoint. A majority of the whole number shall be a quorum for business. The Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurer shall not be members of the Committee, but they shall attend its meetings, and communicate any information in their possession pertaining to their respective departments, and aid the Committee in its deliberations. The Committee shall have power to appoint its own Chairman and Recording Secretary, and to fill any vacancy that may occur in their own number.

14. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to carry into effect all the orders of the Board of Managers; to designate, by advice of the Board, the places where missions shall be attempted, and to establish and superintend the same; to appoint, instruct, and direct all the missionaries of the Board, and to fix their compensation; to direct the Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurer in the discharge of their duties; to make all appropriations to be paid out of the Treasury; to appoint agents for the collection of funds, and to prescribe their duties and arrange their compensation; and in general to perform all duties necessary to promote the object of the Union, provided the same be not contrary to this Constitution or the instructions of the Board of Managers.

15. The Executive Committee shall present to the Board of Managers, at its annual meeting, a report containing a full account of their doings during the preceding year; of the condition and prospects of every missionary station; of their plans for the enlargement or contraction of their sphere of operations; and in general giving all such information as will enable the Board to decide correctly respecting the various subjects on which it is their duty, as the agents of the Union, to form or express an opinion.

16. The Executive Committee shall have power, by a vote of two thirds of the whole number, to remove, for sufficient cause, any Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Auditing Committee, or Missionary, and to appoint others in their places; being always responsible for such exercise of their power to the Board of Managers.

17. In case of the death or resignation of a Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or member of the Auditing Committee, the Executive Committee shall have power to supply the vacancy until the next meeting of the Board of Managers.

OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

18. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct the correspondence of the Board and of the Executive Committee, excepting such as shall relate to the Treasurer's department, and perform such other duties as the Board or the Executive Committee may from time to time require. They shall preserve copies of all their official correspondence, which shall at all times be accessible to any member of the Board or of the Executive Committee.

OF THE TREASURER.

19. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all moneys and other property contributed to the Treasury of the Union, and to give receipts therefor; to keep safely all the moneys and funds of the Union, and all their evidences of property; to keep fair and accurate accounts of all moneys received and expended; to invest and deposit moneys, and make payments and remittances according to the directions of the Executive Committee; to exhibit his books, accounts, vouchers, and evidences of property, whenever required, to the Board or to the Executive and Auditing Committees; to make out an annual statement of receipts and payments, and of the condition of the permanent funds and other property, for the information of the Board of Managers; and to perform such other acts as may be necessary to the faithful discharge of the duties of his office.

OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

20. The Auditing Committee shall not be members of the Executive Committee, but shall at any time, when requested, attend its meetings to give information respecting the state of the Treasury. It shall be their duty once a month to examine the books of the Treasurer, particularly and thoroughly, with all the vouchers and evidences of property thereto belonging. A certificate of the result of this examination shall be entered upon the books of the Treasurer, and a copy furnished to the Executive Committee, to be entered upon their records. They shall also examine the annual statement of the Treasurer, and give a written certificate of the result to be entered upon the records of the Board of Managers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

21. The President, Vice Presidents, and Recording Secretary of the Union, the members of the Board of Managers, the Executive Committee, the Corresponding Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Auditing Committee, and all missionaries employed by the Executive Committee, shall be members in good standing of regular Baptist churches.

22. All moneys contributed to the Treasury of the Union shall be expended at the discretion of the Executive Committee, except such as may be appropriated by the Board of Managers for the salaries of the Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurer; but moneys or other property given for specified objects shall be appropriated according to the will of the donors, provided such an application shall not be contrary to the provisions of this Constitution, or to the instructions of the Board of Managers, in which case they shall be returned to the donors or their lawful agents.

23. The Union, the Board of Managers, and the Executive Committee, shall each have power to adopt such By-Laws or Rules of Order as may be necessary for the government of their own proceedings, provided always that no such regulations shall contravene any part or principle of this Constitution.

24. Alterations may be made in this Constitution only upon recommendation by the Board of Managers, and at an annual meeting of the Union, by a vote of two thirds of the members present.

END.

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